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APPENDIX TO THE MEMOIRS  
OF

THOMAS HOLLIS, ESQ.

F.R. AND A.S.S.

QVIQVE SVI MEMORES ALIOS FECERE MERENDO.

VIRGIL ÆN.

LONDON. PRINTED MDCCLXXX.

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DRAWN AND ETCHED MDCCLX BY I.B. CIPRIANI A TVSCAN AT THE DE SIRE  
OF THOMAS HOLLIS F.R. AND A.S.S. FROM A PICTURE IN THE COLLECTION OF THE  
RIGHT HON. ARTHUR ONSLOW SPEAKER OF THE COMMONS HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT

HOW SOON HATH TIME THE SVTTLE THEEF OF YOUTH  
STOLN ON HIS WING MY *ONE* AND TWENTIETH YEER  
MY HASTING DAYES FLIE ON WITH FVLL CAREER  
BVT MY LATE SPRING NO BVD OR BLOSSOM SHEW'TH  
PERILAPS MY SEMBLANCE MIGHT DECEIVE THE TRVTH  
THAT I TO MANHOOD AM ARRIV'D SO NEAR  
AND INWARD RIPENESS DOTH MVCH LESS APPEAR  
THAT SOM MORE TIMELY-HAPPY SPIRITS INDV'TH  
YET BE IT LESS OR MORE OR SOON OR SLOW  
IT SHALL BE STILL IN STRICTEST MEASVRE EEV'N  
TO THAT SAME LOT HOWEVER MEAN OR HIGH  
TOWARD WHICH TIME LEADS ME AND THE WILL OF HEAV'N  
ALL IS IF I HAVE GRACE TO VSE IT SO  
AS EVER IN MY GREAT TASK MASTERS EYE



## A P P E N D I X.

**I**N the foregoing Memoirs mention is made of several eminent men, to whom Mr. Hollis paid great regard. Some remarks relating to these men, their writings, or characters, may not be unacceptable to some of our readers, as matter at least of amusement. We begin with,

J O H N M I L T O N.

Mr. Richardson, the father, has given a pretty long account of him, which he calls his Life, prefixed to his and his son's explanatory notes and remarks on *Paradise Lost*. He was an enthusiastic admirer of that poem, and being no friend to Milton's political principles, he would not have been sorry if Milton had written nothing in prose. Let us hear him :

“ Still he was *unhappily* engaged in the other war, against popery, prelacy, and *monarchy*, a pure volunteer ; but after serving thus several years, he was taken into pay by the infant commonwealth. Afterwards he was employed (as Latin secretary still) by Oliver, Richard, and the Rump. When monarchy rose again, and they were all sunk, Milton's public employment sunk too ; but that gave him an opportunity of being *much more serviceable to the world* than in that narrow sphere, and in the service of a usurpation. For now he wrote *for mankind, for true religion and virtue*, and for the delight, together with the instruction and edification of his fellow-creatures, of his own country more especially ; for now *Paradise Lost* was to break forth.”  
p. lxxiv, lxxv.

Thus wrote Mr. Richardson in the year 1738, in a strain far more suitable to the year 1778, when possibly the consequential men of our country may be of opinion, that a war against popery, church usurpation, and *tyranny*, may be far *less serviceable to the world* than an heroic poem built upon facts and transactions executed by imaginary beings ; to the great furtherance of virtue and religion, no doubt ! which brings to mind a story told us some years ago by a witness above exception :

“ A certain Roman catholic lady, disputing with the wife of the parson of the parish, concerning the impropriety of trusting the bible in the

T t t 2

“ hands

“ hands of the common people, brought, as an instance of it, the strange  
 “ story, told, as her ladyship asserted, by Moses, of the devil’s tempting  
 “ Eve in the shape of a toad. On the other hand, the honest woman,  
 “ like a good protestant, defended Moses tooth and nail, insisting on  
 “ the credibility of the narrative, and the edification a good christian  
 “ might receive from it. The controversy grew warm, and perhaps  
 “ might have ended in *main forte et dure*, had not the honest vicar en-  
 “ tered, and, with some pleasantry, put an end to it, by informing  
 “ the parties, that it was not the honour of Moses that was at issue, but  
 “ of John Milton the poet.”

Mr. Richardson, however, thought he could shew Milton’s own authority for his judgement, and to that end cited part of a letter from Milton, written to Henry Oldenburg, minister of Bremen to the senate of England, anno 1654: “ Now that I have done with these disputes,  
 “ I prepare for other things, I know not whether more noble or more  
 “ useful than asserting liberty, if I can do it for my ill health, &c.” Here Milton seems to be doubtful, to which of these subjects he should give the preference.

But Mr. Richardson has not quoted fairly. The Latin is this: “ Ad  
 “ alia ut me parem, nescio sane an nobiliora aut utiliora (QUID ENIM  
 “ IN REBUS HUMANIS ASSERENDA LIBERTATE NOBILIUS AUT UTILIUS  
 “ ESSE POSSIT) siquidem per valetudinem, &c.” Mr. Richardson hath funk upon his readers this parenthesis, which, at the bottom, gives the preference for nobleness and utility to Milton’s political performances. The biographer has moreover made him talk inconsistently; for he could not, nor does he, say he had done with the dispute, while he expresses his apprehensions that the Rabularum Clamores, (alluding to the clamor regii sanguinis, &c.) might once more engage him in it. And, in fact, enquires in this very letter, of Oldenburg, for farther particulars concerning Morus, as if he had *not* done with him; and even repeats his enquiries after him, in another letter to the same Oldenburg, in 1659.

We have mentioned in the memoirs the bad opinion that foreigners had of Milton’s cause. We see here the minister of a free imperial city thought, that Milton had employed himself in a frivolous controversy; and, speaking of it in a letter to Heimbach, counsellor to the Elector of  
 Bran-



Brandenburg, in 1666, Milton says, "Quam tu politicam [prolem] vocas; ego pietatem in patriam abs te dictam mallet." Heimbach, it seems, was disposed to undervalue Milton's patriotic labours as well as Oldenburg. But the patriot differed from them both, and avowed the rectitude of his principles, even six years after the Restoration, which, a man of Milton's discernment must have seen, gave him no reason to change his opinion of kingly politics.

We make use of the edition of Milton's Familiar Epistles, printed for Aylmer, 1674, the year of Milton's death. The printer says, in his preface, "Facta spes erat aliquamdiu fore, ut hujus authoris epistolæ, cum publicæ, tum familiares, uno volumine excudendæ mihi permitterentur. Verum de publicis, postquam eos per quos solos licebat, certas ob causas, id nolle cognovi, concessâ parte contentus, familiares tantum in lucem emittere fatis habui." He goes on to tell the reader, that, these letters being too few to make a decent volume, he solicited the author, by a common friend, to supply him with materials to make up the book into a competent size; upon which application, his friend obtained from Milton copies of those academical exercises at the end of the collection.

The *certain reasons*, we apprehend, that prevented the publication of Milton's State Letters at that time, was, that the people might not be apprised of the different spirit with which government was administered under Cromwell and the republicans, with respect to foreign states, compared with that of Charles II. and his ministers. Kings who have it in contemplation to subdue the spirit of liberty at home must act with caution and great condescension to foreign powers, whose interference might interrupt their operations, and embroil them with adversaries, upon whom their craft and artifice would not have the same effect as upon their own subjects.

Milton the poet and Milton the politician were two different men. The latter is known to few in comparison with the numerous acquaintance of the other.

An ingenious critic, speaking of Virgil's employing Æneas to assist the Etruscans in avenging themselves of their tyrant Mezentius, hath properly distinguished these two Miltons: "MILTON," says he, "I mean THE MILTON OF THE COMMONWEALTH, could not have asserted  
"with

“ with more energy” [*than Virgil has done*] “ the daring pretensions of  
“ the people to punish, as well as to resist, a tyrant.” The critic’s way  
of accounting for this is curious, and the reader shall have it ; but let  
him remember, that, if he makes any application, it is at his own  
peril :

“ Such opinions, published by a writer whom we are taught to con-  
“ sider as the creature of Augustus, have a right to surprize us ; yet they  
“ are strongly expressive of the temper of the times ; the republic was  
“ *subverted*, but *the minds of the Romans were still republican* \*.”

It has surprized many readers of the history of the times when Mil-  
ton variously figured in politics, literature, and poetry, that so little  
mention should be made of him by his contemporaries. Thurloe, for  
example, speaks of him only as “ a blind old man who wrote Latin  
“ letters.” Sir William Temple names him not once, though some of  
his subjects might very naturally lead him to some observations on the  
man or his works †. It is still more remarkable, that Richard Baxter  
should pass him by in profound silence ; though he mentions some of  
his cooperators in the establishment of church-independency with suf-  
ficient indignation.

Baxter had liberal notions on several points of ecclesiastical govern-  
ment and discipline ; but fell far short of Milton’s sentiments on those  
subjects. Toland, speaking of Milton’s tract, intituled, “ The Reason  
“ of Church Government, &c.” says, “ The eloquence is masculine, the  
“ method is natural, the sentiments are free, and the whole (God  
“ knows) appears to have a very different force from what the noncon-  
“ formist divines wrote in those days, or since that time, on the same  
“ subject.” Baxter, with a spirit of pacification, entered into treaty with  
the episcopal divines after the Restoration, from which he and his party  
reaped nothing but scorn and contempt : and he found, by experience,  
what Milton had predicated of the principles of prelacy, that when they  
were countenanced by the civil power they had always been as im-  
moveable as a rock, proof against reason, matter of fact, and the gospel.  
It was not therefore for Richard Baxter to quote Milton. If with praise,

\* Critical Observations on the sixth book of the *Æneid*, printed for Elmsly, 1770, p. 13.

† See Dr. Newton’s *Life of Milton*, p. xlix.



why did he not believe him? If with blame, why was he not confuted by Mr. Baxter's success?

Whitelocke mentions him only once, on occasion of a complaint made by the Swedish ambassador, of the delays in delivering to him the articles of the treaty with England; and, among other causes of such delay, mention was made by the ambassador, "that the articles were sent to one Mr. Milton, a blind man, to put them into Latin; who, he said, must use an amanuensis to read it to him, and that amanuensis might publish the matter of the articles as he pleased; and that it seemed strange to him that there should be none but a blind man capable of putting a few articles into Latin." To which Whitelock only says, "The employment of Mr. Milton was excused to him, because several other servants of the council, fit for that employment, were then absent." Whitelock, if he had thought fit, could have made another sort of excuse. We have here however a circumstance corroborating Mr. Hollis's observation, that Milton was not in Cromwell's confidence, but employed merely as a servant of the council.

Milton's Sonnet to Cromwell, first published in Toland's *Life of the poet*, 1699, p. 112, has been referred to as an instance of Milton's abject attachment to Cromwell, who certainly paid little regard to those rights and liberties of the people for which Milton was so strenuous an advocate. Mr. Hollis, in his edition of Toland's *Life of Milton*, has said enough in a note to shew the futility of this imputation.

The title of the sonnet, in Milton's manuscript, preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, is this, "To the Lord General CROMWELL; on the proposals of [certain] ministers at the committee for propagation of the gospel in [May] 1651." Which shews that Milton's design in this little poem was not merely to compliment Cromwell on his victories at Dunbar, Worcester, &c. but to oppose some attempts then in hand to narrow the conditions of church-membership by tests, and to procure other impositions of revenue according to the presbyterian plan of church-government.

There is certainly a mistake in the date of this sonnet, as the battle of Worcester was not fought till the third of September 1651.

This date therefore should be corrected to May 1652, when, as we learn from Whitelocke, there was a committee, to which it was referred,

"to

“ to consider, how a competent maintenance for godly ministers may  
 “ be settled in lieu of tithes.” And this was doubtless the committee  
 where the proposal was made; and it was on this occasion that Milton  
 wrote, “ Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hire-  
 “ lings out of the church.” For he says, at the beginning of this tract,  
 that “ the maintenance of church-ministers was at that time under  
 “ debate.”

Milton seems to have had this matter so much at heart, that it is no  
 wonder he should be sanguine in his expectations that the heroic Crom-  
 well, who had given so many instances of his favouring church-inde-  
 pendency, would undertake this contest with those he calls hirelings,  
 and their abettors, and crown his other victories by a triumph over them.  
 Cromwell was obliged to manage matters as well as he could; but, what-  
 ever he might wish or intend, he found Milton’s system utterly im-  
 practicable.

Of all the modern writers who have had occasion to mention Milton,  
 Lord Monboddo (to his honour be it spoken) has done the most impar-  
 tial justice to the style and composition of his prose-writings. It is not  
 necessary to inquire how far his Lordship’s political principles do or do  
 not coincide with Milton’s. We bring his testimony for no such pur-  
 pose. His observations relate chiefly to the *style* of his prose-works. The  
 instance he takes from the beginning of the *Iconoclastes*, and descants  
 upon the arrangement of the words in the first period; and seems to be  
 a little captivated with the patriotic subject; and, as if he could not resist  
 the temptation, gives the rest of the paragraph in a note; after which  
 his Lordship throws down Milton’s gauntlet, with the following de-  
 fiance :

“ This I think is a specimen of noble and manly eloquence; for, not  
 “ to mention the weight of matter that it contains, and the high repub-  
 “ lican spirit that animates it, I ask those gentlemen who despise the  
 “ Greek and Roman learning, and admit only the French authors, or  
 “ some later English writers, that they are pleased to set up as models  
 “ (for Milton, I know, they think uncouth, harsh, and pedantic), whe-  
 “ ther they can produce any thing themselves, or find any thing in their  
 “ favourite authors, which they can set against this passage in Milton,  
 “ either for the choice of the words, or the beauty and variety of the  
 “ com-







DRAWN AND ETCHED MDCCLX BY I.B.CIPRIANI A TVSCAN FROM A BVST IN PLAISTER  
MODELL'D FROM THE LIFE NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF THOMAS HOLLIS F.R.AND A.SS.

CYRIAC THIS THREE YEARS DAY THESE EYES THOUGH CLEAR  
TO OVTWARD VIEW OF BLEMISH OR OF SPOT  
BEREFT OF LIGHT THEIR SEEING HAVE FORGOT  
NOR TO THEIR IDLE ORBS DOTH SIGHT APPEAR  
OF SVN OR MOON OR STAR THROUGHOUT THE YEAR  
OR MAN OR WOMAN YET I ARGVE NOT  
AGAINST HEAV'N'S HAND OR WILL NOR BATE ONE IOT  
OF HEART OR HOPE BVT STILL BEAR VP AND STEER  
RIGHT ONWARD WHAT SVPPORTS ME DOST THOV ASK  
THE CONSCIENCE FRIEND TO HAVE LOST THEM OVER-PLY'D  
IN LIBERTIES DEFENCE MY NOBLE TASK  
OF WHICH ALL EVROPE RINGS FROM SIDE TO SIDE  
THIS THOUGHT MIGHT LEAD ME THROUGH THIS WORLDS VAIN MASK  
CONTENT THOUGH BLIND HAD I NO OTHER GVIDE



“ composition ? It may be considered as a gauntlet that Milton, for the  
 “ honour of antient literature, has thrown down to those gentlemen,  
 “ which he must be a bold man among them who will venture to take  
 “ up.” Lord Monboddo, vol. III. p. 53.

This is not the only passage in which this respectable critic hath honoured Milton’s prose-writings with his suffrage. But we select this for a particular reason. Some of Lord Monboddo’s countrymen, who would with pleasure have seen Milton gibbeted for his state-principles, have spoken slightly of Lord Monboddo’s critical works. It is not unlikely that this very quotation stuck in their stomachs, and prevented their digesting the viands prepared by his Lordship for the entertainment of the public, which a large majority of his readers hath found so palatable and wholesome.

“ Mr. Peck,” says Mr. Hollis, in a detached memorandum among his papers, “ having consulted Mr. George Vertue, that eminent faithful  
 “ English antiquary, concerning the originality of the painting from  
 “ which the print prefixed to his book was taken ; and Mr. Vertue,  
 “ having declared to him, as he afterwards told me in conversation,  
 “ Jan. 1, 1755, that he believed it to be spurious for many reasons ;  
 “ Mr. Peck replied, *I’ll have a scraping from it however, and let posterity  
 “ settle the matter.* Pall Mall, Nov. 17, 1764.”

If Milton’s features were out of the ken of Mr. Peck, it would be curious to know the means by which posterity should acquire a just idea of them. Mr. Hollis’s prints of him were undoubtedly taken from authentic originals. Mr. Hollis, in a paper dated July 30, 1757, says,  
 “ For an original model in clay of the head of Milton, £. 9. 12 s. which  
 “ I intended to have purchased myself, had it not been knocked down  
 “ to Mr. Reynolds by a mistake of Mr. Ford the auctioneer. Note,  
 “ about two years before Mr. Vertue died, he told me, that he had been  
 “ possessed of this head many years ; and that he believed it was done  
 “ by one Pierce, a sculptor of good reputation in those times, the same  
 “ who made the bust in marble of Sir Christopher Wren, which is in the  
 “ Bodleian library. My own opinion is, that it was modeled by Abraham  
 “ Simon ; and that afterwards a seal was engraved after it, in profile,  
 “ by his brother Thomas Simon, a proof impression of which is now  
 “ in the hands of Mr. Yeo, engraver in Covent-garden. This head

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“ was

“ was badly designed by Mr. Richardson, and then engraved by Mr. Vertue, and prefixed to Milton’s prose-works, in quarto, printed for A. Millar, 1753, [Baron’s edition]. The bust probably was executed soon after Milton had written his *Defensio pro populo Anglicano*.” Mr. Reynolds obligingly parted with this bust to Mr. Hollis for twelve guineas. The print from this bust, as described above, is prefixed likewise to some copies of Birch’s edition of Milton’s prose-works, in folio.

In the year 1745, were published, “ Poems on several occasions, and two critical essays : the first on the harmony, variety, and power, of numbers, either in prose or verse. The second on the numbers in *PARADISE LOST*. By Mr. SAMUEL SAY.” Quarto.

Mr. Say appears to have been an ingenious man, and wrote these essays for his amusement when at leisure from the more serious employments of a dissenting teacher. He seems to think numbers and harmony the most essential characteristics of a good composition, whether in prose or verse. Bentley happened to think that good sense had something to do even in Milton’s poetry ; and for so thinking Mr. Say gives him two or three smart pushes with his bull-rush, in which he has had the honour to be seconded by Messieurs Richardson, Pearce, and Newton. In what he says about Rime, we suspect he neither understood Bentley nor Milton.

He calls Bentley an *insolent critic* : “ Dominus Scaliger,” says Vertu-nien, “ bene interpretatur, sed non discurret.” “ Do you know,” says Tanaquil Faber, “ what this means ? idem est plane ac si diceret Dominus Scaliger habet EXQUISITUM SENSUM MELIORIS DOCTRINAE ; sed tu qui discursores laudas et desideras, pro corde pulmonem habes.” This is too late for the admonition of Mr. Say, but it may be recommended to the consideration of some later antibentleian critics.

We profess however not to concern ourselves with Milton the poet, or his critics and commentators. Mr. Say, in his first essay, has quoted two or three passages from Milton’s prose-works, which he hath accented to shew us how the lungs and organs of pronunciation should be employed in reading them ; concerning which we shall only say that perhaps the judicious Mr. Sheridan would differ from him.

But let us not forget for what purpose we brought this gentleman upon the carpet. It is for the sake of a print of a bust of Milton, prefixed



fixed to his second Effay ; which, if our judgment were asked, we should call a good one ; the execution is by Mr. Richardson, senior ; it is from Mr. Hollis's model in clay, ornamented by Richardson, and is one of his sets of prints of Milton.

But whatever the print may be, the verses from Milton's *Manfo*, inscribed below it, are good ; *vis.*

“ Forfitan et nostros ducat de marmore vultus,

“ Nectens aut Paphia Myrti, aut Parnasside lauri

“ Fronde comas, at ego secura pace quiescam.”

On the pedestal is inscribed, in Greek capitals, the word ΜΙΑΤΩ.

There are two copies of a letter of Milton, exhibited by Dr. Birch, written, as the Doctor says, to some friend who had importuned him to enter into *some profession*. Bp. Newton says it was to enter into orders, for which he seems not to have sufficient authority. In this letter is inserted the sonnet,

“ How soon hath Time, the subtle thief of youth,

“ Stolne on his wing my three and twentieth year.”

It is not going far out of our way just to observe, that Milton had this thought from Shakespeare,

“ ——— when his youthful morne

“ Hath travel'd on to age's sleepy night,

“ And all those beauties whereof now he's king,

“ Are vanishing, or vanish'd out of sight ;

“ *Stealing away the treasure of his spring.*

“ *Sonnet on Injurious Time.*”

And again in the Sonnet, intituled, *Sun-Set*,

“ Thou by the dial's shady *stealth* may'st know

“ *Time's thievish progress* to eternity.”

It is said somewhere, that Milton declined orders because, upon entering into the church, he must subscribe himself Slave. This circumstance is, in some degree, a proof that Milton, or his friends, had some intention of making him a churchman. But if that was the profession into which he was importuned by his friend to enter, Milton's answer would hardly have been in such general terms, without specifying his particular objections to the ministry, as then constituted and disciplined. It is probable that neither Milton himself, nor any of his friends,

thought of that profession for him. And Dr. Newton must have given the occasion of Milton's letter to his friend by conjecture, or some incompetent authority.

Many are the prejudices of the present age against Milton's theological, ecclesiastical, and political principles. But none of his tracts have given more offence to the ladies and their humble servants than his doctrines concerning divorce; and yet so many voluntary separations, to which both parties consent, shew the expedience of some compendious law authorising such separation, to prevent greater scandals; for when a man is separated from his lawful wife, he, generally speaking, betakes himself to a concubine; neither does the wife always, it may be presumed, remain in a state of chaste widowhood. Milton has not been alone in this doctrine even among our English writers.

Mr. William Lawrence published, in the year 1680, a tract, intitled, "Marriage by the moral law of God vindicated, against all ceremonial laws of popes and bishops, destructive to filiation, aliment, and succession, and the government of families and kingdoms, quarto, in two parts." Lond. 1680.

Anthony Wood, from whom this title is taken, says, this book "was written upon a discontent arising from his wife (a red-haired buxom woman) whom he esteemed dishonest to him." This wife of his was sister to colonel William Sydenham; and one of her imperfections at least Mr. Lawrence might know before marriage; and being, as Wood says, "a man of parts and considerable reading," he must have met with some account of the buxom qualities ascribed by physicians and physiognomists to red-haired females; so that he was not so excusable as Milton.

This book was, we find, given by Baron to his friend Mr. Hollis; and with it, it seems, were bound up two others, by the same author; the one, according to Baron's note in the book, in support of the claim of the duke of Monmouth; and the other, intended to promote the exclusion of the Duke of York. These are, we suppose, the two books mentioned by Wood: 1. "The right of primogeniture in succession to the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c." 2. "An Answer to all objections against declaring him a protestant successor, with reasons, shewing the fatal danger of neglecting the same." Wood  
says

says this latter was *added* to the former tract, which was printed at London, 1681, in three books. By the word *him*, we suppose, for we have not seen the book, is meant the Duke of Monmouth; and consequently, we conjecture, Mr. Lawrence either brought some proofs, or took it for granted, that Charles II was married to the Duke of Monmouth's mother.

At the end of the contents of the second book of Mr. Lawrence's tract on marriage, it is said, "The other exceptions at judicial forms, and what was intended concerning other competitor judges, I am forced to break off abruptly, by disturbances at the press." Mr. Lawrence was member of parliament for the Isle of Wight in 1656, and appointed a judge in Scotland by Cromwell about the same time, and after the Restoration became a practitioner in the law.

An ingenious nobleman—Booth Earl of Warrington, published, in the year 1739, "Considerations upon the Institution of Marriage; where it is considered, how far Divorces may or may not be allowed." In this book there is the following passage.

"How different a representation of marriage the same persons make *before* and *after* its consummation. Previous to its solemnity, the parties proposing to enter into that holy state are hardly to suffer the thoughts of carnality to come under their consideration. As soon as the priest has tied the marriage knot, we are talked to in a different strain, quite varied from the former; let the mutual society, help, and comfort, be never so entirely wanting: yet so long as the carnal part quadrates, the *vinculum matrimonii* still continues in full force from that carnality only, which before marriage was not to be any part of the consideration or motive to marry; nor can such bond be dissolved but from a carnal cause alone\*."

Now this appearing to be absolutely the fact, by comparing the office of matrimony in our liturgy with the canon-law, is a full justification of Milton's doctrine, taken from the absurdity and inconsistency of the ecclesiastical forms in use, both in Milton's time and in our own. And as this is a matter that so nearly concerns the body politic, particularly in the article of population, it is surprising the laws of marriage

\* There are some reflections to the same effect in Mandeville's Fable of the Bees.

should



should not have been revised and corrected long ago. The perusal of the 36th chapter of Dr. Godolphin's Repertorium Canonicum only will sufficiently convince the reader of the confusion there is in our matrimonial laws, and the precarious determinations of the several judicatories where causes of that kind have been tried.

Mr. Apgill, as we are informed, wrote something against divorce, and against marrying again (so it is expressed); but whether against all second marriages, or only marriages after divorce, we know not. We have not seen the book, nor is any notice taken of it in Apgill's article in either of the editions of the Biographia Britannica\*. Wood likewise mentions a treatise of Sir John Cheke upon the question, *An liceat nubere post divortium*.

There is a manifest ambiguity in the words γάμος, for marriage, or copulation, ἀνὴρ, husband, or man, γυνή, wife, or woman, as used by the Greek writers. May not the evangelists and apostles have used these words indeterminately; and, as canonists have not always been the most accurate critics, may not the confusion in their laws have arisen from their not distinguishing what was the precise meaning of the sacred writers in some of the passages where these words occur?

A modern retailer of historical anecdotes seems desirous to have it thought, upon his own authority, that there was a connection of gallantry between Milton and the Lady Margaret Lee; and he seems willing to have it understood, that Milton's backwardness to receive his repentant wife was owing to an intrigue with that lady. A man must have a strange appetite for secret history to advance such a suspicion in the face of so fair an account as has been given of Milton's intercourse with that Lady and her husband by Mr. Philips his nephew, and generally adopted by the following biographers of Milton. Fenton indeed is silent concerning Milton's acquaintance with this Lady; and, had Mr. Philips been so too, who would have known that there ever existed a Lady Margaret Lee in the world, unless from Milton's sonnet addressed to her?

\* A question upon divorce, 1717. After quoting many passages from the Gospels, he concludes the question in the affirmative: "that the laws ecclesiastic, or the canon laws, not allowing adultery to be a lawful cause for dissolving the bond of matrimony, and setting the conjugal pair at large to marry any others, are consonant to the law divine, as expounded by CHRIST himself."

There

There are some particulars concerning Milton in Wood's Fasti which have not been noticed by subsequent biographers, particularly that he was incorporated master of arts in the university of Oxford, 1629. Anthony Wood survived the first edition of Mr. Philips's Life of his uncle; but had not seen it; and makes no mention of Lady Margaret Lee; nor had Mr. Philips seen Wood's account, otherwise he would not have forgot the name of Milton's tutor at Christ's College, the excellent Bp. Chapell, author of the *Whole Duty of Man*.

Wood mentions some *Aphorisms of State* by Sir Walter Raleigh, octavo, published by John Milton, Lond. 1661, which he says is the same with *The Prince, or Maxims of State*, printed at London, 1642, in quarto, and there again 51 and 56, in twelves. Athen. Ox. vol. I. col. 439.

There is some mistake in this account. Milton was not likely to avow himself the author of such a book in the year 1661. The book which we suppose Wood meant is thus described in the title page: *The cabinet council, containing the chief arts of empire*, by the ever renowned knight Sir Walter Raleigh, published by John Milton, Esq. London, printed by T. Newcomb, 1658, in twelves. It is said, in the preface to the reader, that the publisher had the manuscript in his hands many years. This account we have from a gentleman who has the last-mentioned book in his possession; but Dr. Newton says, that Milton published both *The Cabinet-council (discabinated)* in 1588, and the *Aphorisms* in 1661. And lastly comes the compiler of Raleigh's article in the Biographia Britannica, and he tells us: "The Prince, or Maxims of State, Lond. 1642, 4to. was reprinted among Raleigh's Remains. That the Cabinet-council, containing the chief arts of empire, and mysteries of state discabinated, was published by Milton in 1658, 8vo." and then refers to his note in the margin, where he says, "Mr. Wood says, it [the Cabinet-council] "is the same with Aphorisms of state, printed by John Milton the Poet. In the second edition," continues the biographer, "it is intitled, The Arts of Empire and Mysteries of State discabinated, Lond. 1692."

1. Now in the first place, Wood says no such thing as is here ascribed to him. He says *The Prince*, &c. and the *Aphorisms*, are one and

and the same book ; and that the Aphorisms were published by John Milton, 1661.

2. Dr. Newton makes the Aphorisms and Cabinet-council two different books, but adopts Wood's account, that Milton published the Aphorisms in 1661.

3. Dr. Newton gives the title, "The Cabinet-council discabinated," leaving out that part of the title (if it is rightly given by the biographer) which chiefly characterises the work. What confusion ! and who is equal to the adjustment of it !

"An evident sign," says Dr. Newton, "that he [Milton] thought it no mean employment, nor unworthy of a man of genius, to be an editor of the works of great authors." We have seen that Mr. Hollis availed himself of this testimony of Dr. Newton, as a sufficient apology for his procuring or encouraging so many new editions of eminent and excellent authors.

"Milton's circumstances," says Dr. Newton, "were never very mean nor very great ; for he lived above want, and was not intent upon accumulating wealth ; his ambition was more to enrich and adorn his mind."

On the other hand, Wood says, "When Oliver ascended the throne Milton became the Latin secretary, and proved to him very serviceable when employed in business of weight and moment ; and did great matters to obtain a *name* and *wealth* ;" the *ærugo mera* of an Oxford Tory !

Dr. Newton's candor hath befriended Milton in several other instances.

We have observed before in what manner Mr. Bayle characterises Milton's spirit in his controversy with Salmasius and Morus. Let us hear Dr. Newton's more equitable judgment of the matter :

"His method of writing controversy is urged as another argument of his want of temper ; but some allowance must be made for the customs and manners of the time. Controversy, as well as war, was rougher and more barbarous in those days than it is in these. And it is to be considered too, that his adversaries first began the attack ; they loaded him with much more personal abuse, only they had not the advantage of so much wit to season it. If he had engaged  
6 " with



“ with more candid and ingenuous disputants, he would have preferred  
 “ civility and fair argument to wit and satire : “ *to do so was my choice,*  
 “ *and to have done thus was my chance,* as he expresses himself in the  
 “ conclusion of one of his controversial pieces. All who have written  
 “ any accounts of his life agree, that he was affable and instructive in  
 “ conversation, of an equal and chearful temper ; and yet I can easily  
 “ believe, that he had a sufficient sense of his own merits, and contempt  
 “ enough for his adversaries.” Life, p. lviii.

“ Monsieur Saumaise,” says Chevreau, “ even while he was young,  
 “ passed for the greatest man in all Europe, in the opinion of Scaliger  
 “ and Casaubon ; but he was bitter in his answers to those who thought  
 “ differently from him, and maintained their opinions with confidence.  
 “ For the rest, he had a tenderness for his friends, and never despised  
 “ his inferiors, how far soever they were below him\*.”

The last part of this character the French critic proves, by exhibiting  
 a civil letter, which Salmasius wrote to himself, in the genuine stile of  
 French complaisance.

Milton’s familiar epistles, though not so full of compliment, are  
 equally witnesses of his humanity and affection towards his friends and  
 inferiors ; and if he was better at the art of scratching when provoked  
 than Salmasius, it was not because his temper was more irritable, but  
 because his talents for controversy were superior to those of Salmasius,  
 not to mention the transcendent merits of the cause he defended against  
 this critic, whose officious petulance deserved the severest correction.

But, says Dr. Bentley, “ He must be a young writer, and a young  
 “ reader too, that believes Milton and Petavius had themselves as mean  
 “ thoughts of Salmasius as they endeavour to make others have †.” We  
 will not answer for the jesuit ; the meanest thought that Milton seems  
 to have entertained of Salmasius, with respect to his learning, was, that  
 he was *literatus sine doctrina* ; and, carrying this character no farther than  
 this controversy, no one can well doubt but that Milton spoke as he  
 thought, and as every competent reader must think. What Milton  
 finds fault with, in those other works of Salmasius he hath mentioned,  
 is his duplicity, or jesuitism, his mercenary disposition. There did not

\* Chevreana, vol. I. p. 129.

† Preface to his Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris, 1699, p. ci.

want Milton's pen to convict Salmasius of insincerity and double-dealing. While Grotius was living, no man complimented him so highly as Salmasius: when Grotius was dead, no man spoke more contemptibly of him\*. One might have said on this occasion to Dr. Bentley, "Go now, good Doctor, and settle a criterion, if you can, by which we may judge of the thoughts which learned men entertain of each other."

Mr. Bayle has referred, in the article [MORUS], to a letter written to him by Tanaquil Faber; by which it appears that Morus was extremely unhappy on account of some reports which were raised to his disadvantage. Faber calls them *calumniole* and *rumusculi*, the subject of which was probably some of his amorous adventures. There is no date to this letter; but that which immediately precedes it was written 1658. If Faber's consolation therefore relates to Milton's satirical strokes on Morus's gallantry, he must have felt them sensibly for some years after they were inflicted; if to reports of later date, it is likely some suspicions still remained that he had not profited so much as he might have done by the mortifications he had undergone from his former adventures.

Tanaquil Faber compliments him highly on his critical talents; and he certainly had great abilities in his way. He was the Atterbury, or rather the Dodd, of his age; no less remarkable for his human frailty than for his oratorical talents. One might perhaps make a large collection of such characters, and intitle it, *De infelicitate Concionatorum popularium*. Popularity is a snare to men in various provinces; but to none more than to preachers. They gain an influence with men who, provided the preacher tickles their ears, give them credit for every evangelical virtue; and with women of all ages and complexions.

Morus, as we learn from the dedication of his panegyric on Calvin, published in 1648, corresponded with Abp. Usher, who seems to have had a favourable opinion of him. What a mortification must it be to such a man, to have his laurels cropt, and to be ferreted out of his privacies by Milton, and exposed to the ridicule of all Europe!

Grotius, in some of his controversial writings, had reflected severely on Calvin, as the executioner [*exustor*] of Servetus; and had proved

\* See Bayle's Dictionary [GROTIUS], Remark [M]:

from

from a letter of Calvin to Farellus, that he [Calvin] determined, even before Servetus came to Geneva, that he should never go from that city alive. Morus, in his panegyric on Calvin, falls upon Grotius, and endeavours to refute these reflections, by shifting the odium of that inhuman act from Calvin to the magistrates, before whom, or their successors, he was holding forth. Morus questions whether Calvin wrote any such letter to Farell, as none such appeared among the papers left by him [Farell] at his death. Whether such a letter was, or was not, written by Calvin, as alledged by Grotius, is not very material. It appears, from Calvin's printed letters, that Servetus was imprisoned by his means [*me auctore*], that he hoped he would be adjudged to suffer death, and only wished that the severity of his punishment might be mitigated, which he says, in another letter, he and his colleagues endeavoured to no purpose. The rest of Morus's apology for Calvin is mere evasion; and is just as much to the purpose of Calvin's justification as it was to tell his audience (as he does in another passage) that Calvin had no pimples in his face, nor a carbuncled nose.

Morus, speaking in this oration, of Grotius's Annotations on the scriptures, says, *linguæ sanctioris abusus notitiâ, divinos libros, infelici doctrina, et ingeniosis erroribus sedavit.* Morus himself, in process of time, became an annotator on the scriptures, and disdained not to pillage from Grotius what his own stores would not afford, twenty years after he has passed this censure upon him.

Milton said, in a letter to Oldenburgh, December 20, 1659, that the synod then about to be assembled at Loudun would end happily enough, even if nothing more was determined by it than the deposition of Morus from the ministry. Morus was to have been called to account in that assembly on some accusations transmitted out of Holland. But the king's commissary would not permit those accusations to be read, nor suffer the synod to remit Morus to make his defence in the place from whence the informations came; so he was acquitted for that time, "rather," says the historian, "by the prohibition of the commissary, than by an act of the synod \*."

The same historian says, that "among his shining qualities, he had some that did him no honour; he was imprudent, imperious, fatiri-

\* Hist. edit. de Nantes, vol. III. p. 315.



“cal, and hardly approved of any thing but his own works, and the  
“praises of those who admired them \*.”

Chevreau’s character of him is no better : “Morus,” says he, “has  
“a deal of wit and learning, but little religion and judgment. He is  
“ambitious, restless, changeable, bold, presumptuous, and wavering ;  
“he understands Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic ; but does not  
“understand human life †.”

All this makes for the justification of Milton ; much more might be  
said to confront Mr. Bayle ; but this is sufficient.

Bayle corrects Milton’s Latin *Laodunensis* Synodus, meaning the  
synod of Loudun ; and says, it should have been *Juliodunensis*, or  
*Lausdunensis*. It does not appear to us that Loudun was ever called  
*Lausdun*. Ferrarius observes, that Pintorin calls it *Juliodunum*, but  
others *Laudiacum* ; we take *Lausdunensis*, in Bayle, to be an error of the  
press for *Laudiacensis*.

In the year 1674, May 22, John Sobieski was chosen king of Poland,  
and some time after appeared, “A Declaration or Letters Patent for  
“the election of this present King of Poland JOHN the Third, &c. Now  
“faithfully translated from the Latin copy, by J. M.”

These initials, we suppose, led Mr. Toland to ascribe this translation  
to John Milton, in which he has been followed by Birch and Baron too  
implicitly, as we think, for it does not appear to us at all probable that  
it is Milton’s handywork.

Milton died in November in this very year. The Latin rescript would  
hardly get to England till some months after the election ; yet perhaps  
soon enough for Milton to translate so small a tract into English before  
his death, if the state of his health would admit of it, which might be  
questioned.

But we rather ground our judgment on other circumstances. What  
could be Milton’s motives ? We may imagine indeed, that Milton being  
convinced by what he had seen, that a free commonwealth could not be  
established in Britain upon his plan, might think, that the next best  
expedient to preserve public liberty would be to choose a King, upon  
every vacancy of the throne, by the free suffrages of the people ; and

\* Hist. edit. de Nantes, vol. III. p. 454.

† Bayle, Morus, Rem. P.

might propose to his countrymen the election of John Sobieski as a precedent. This would have been seasonable if the debates concerning the exclusion of the Duke of York had then been on the carpet; and the party zealous for that measure, was strong enough to have protected Milton from the vengeance of the court. But that question was not moved, nor perhaps thought of, till above four years after Milton's death; and why should he provoke the court, by publishing a writing, which, considered as a precedent recommended by him to the people, was a severe reproach to those who were the chief instruments in restoring Charles II.?

In any other view, the translation of such a piece can only be considered as a mere amusement, at a time when we are assured Milton was much better employed. For Toland says, "the last thing he wrote, and that was published a little before his death, was, his *Treatise of true Religion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration, and the best means that may be used to prevent the growth of Popery.*"

It were to be wished, that the editors of Milton's prose-works had marked the precise date of the publication of the several tracts from the first edition of each, and had noted the date before each tract. Toland had the means in his power to recover them all; and Baron, we have been assured, was in possession of the original editions of them all; but this by the way. The translation in question carries its own date in its front, and was certainly published by the translator himself, whoever he was; and that this was not the incomparable John Milton we are chiefly persuaded by the style and language, which are far below the strength and propriety of Milton's other works.

It is true Toland places this translation among those miscellaneous pieces much inferior to his other works; but this inferiority can by no means be ascribed to any decay or defect of Milton's talents for composition; for his Essay on true Religion, the last of his publications, according to Toland, is equal at least to any thing he had written before it, and Toland's long quotation out of it is a sufficient proof that he thought as we do.

Upon the whole, we offer our sentiments on the Polish Declaration as mere conjectures, and desire they may be received as such, subject to the better judgment of those who think otherwise.

Had Milton's prose-works met with public estimation in proportion to their merit, it is probable his descendants would not have so long languished in poverty and obscurity on English ground. It was the reputation of his *Paradise Lost* that occasioned his family to be inquired after. Mrs. Clarke, his daughter, came over from Ireland during the troubles there, occasioned by the invasion of the abdicated king. From that period we hear nothing of her till Mr. Addison found her out, made her a present, and promised her an annuity, of which she was deprived by his death. Dr. Birch relates, that Dr. Ward, professor of Gresham-College, the friend and tutor of Mr. Hollis, paid her occasional visits. She died in 1727, in low circumstances. She left a daughter, married to Mr. Thomas Foster, of whom we hear nothing till 1738, when she was visited by the said Dr. Ward. From that æra we hear no more of her till 1750, when the mask of *Comus* was acted at Drury-lane theatre for her benefit. Mr. Hollis would have respected the family on a different account from that which attracted the attention of the public, had any of them survived his return from his travels, and his settling in England. We do not find when Mrs. Foster died; and she seems to have been left to subsist as she could on the hundred and thirty pounds which the representation of *Comus* for her benefit produced.

Mr. Hollis, when it came to his turn to shew his veneration for *the Milton of the Commonwealth*, was indefatigable in his researches after every memorial of him he could hear of. Besides the pains he took in furnishing himself with copies of his portraits, he purchased his bed and silver seal; and went so far as to take out a copy on stamps of the entry in the register of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury of the grant of letters of administration to Milton's widow, which, as a curiosity, the reader will find in the Appendix.

Since we wrote as above, concerning the print exhibited by Mr. Peck as the portrait of Milton, we have seen Mr. Hollis's own copy of the said Mr. Peck's *New Memoirs of the Life and poetical Works of Mr. John Milton*, printed at London, 1740.

The first thing that occurred upon opening the book, was a manuscript note in Mr. Hollis's hand, declaring the print to be *spurious beyond a doubt*.

Mr.



Mr. Peck authenticates this picture by no other circumstance than that of a book lying open before the person represented with a label, inscribed, *Paradise Lost*. But perceiving the absurdity of supposing the poem so called, as we now have it, to be extant in Milton's twenty-fifth year, he recurs to the expedient of supposing this title to belong to the dramatic poem of that name, planned in the early part of Milton's Life.

We have seen a print of a gentleman in a full-bottomed wig, and in a suit of armor, with a book before him, intitled, *The Whole Duty of Man*; but had no temptation to suppose this portrait to be the effigies of the author of that work, nor to mistake Martin Luther for Moses, because, in some of his prints, there is a book open before him in which is inscribed the word GENESIS.

Mr. Peck, New Memoirs, p. 4. turns some of Milton's prose into verse, to shew that he was a spontaneous versifier even in his prose-writings. He takes his instance from Milton's Animadversions upon the Remonstrants' defence against Smeectymnuus, Toland's edition, vol. I. p. 150. Which passage he thus breaks into verse:

Go on, dissembling Joab, as still your use is,  
Call brother, and smite; call brother, and smite;  
Till it be said of you, as was of Herod,  
A man had better be your hog than brother.

We would not undervalue the fertility of Milton's poetic vein, but, with respect to this rumbling instance, we pretend to set the remonstrants on a level with him without going farther than the same page:

—— Speak out, masters,  
I would not have that word stick in your teeth,  
Or in your throat.

Bp. Hall is supposed to be the Remonstrant with whom Milton is here engaged; and Bp. Hall was no ordinary poet for those times; but if we should bring this as an instance how naturally his verses flowed from him, we should be laughed at.

Mr. Peck thinks, p. 10. his reader will be surprised to find that Milton had but a contemptible opinion of the fathers, after he has told us, in the paragraph immediately preceding, how much he had borrowed from them, particularly Cyprian and Basil.

The

The learned jesuit Bouhours published a collection, intituled, *Pensées ingénieuses des Peres de l'Eglise*, among which are several passages of the two fathers Cyprian and Basil, the latter of whom the compiler tells us Erasmus preferred, without scruple, to the most celebrated orators of Athens and Rome.

We have as much deference for the judgment of Erasmus as most men; but, in his dedication of the edition of Basil in Greek to Sadolet, we think it likely he might, in his recommendation of the work, have an eye to the profit of his friend Frobenius the printer.

We apprehend what Mr. Peck says amounts to little less than an accusation of plagiarism; which, if brought against Milton by a man of more judgement, somebody might think it worth the while to examine.

Milton calls the fathers more *antient* than *trusty*. Their visions might be ingenious, and serve to furnish similes, images, and hints, to poetical writers; but does it follow, that, because Milton borrowed these picturesque ideas from them in his poem, he must believe their dreams about episcopacy? Bouhours himself, no doubt, borrowed some of these *pensées ingénieuses* in his works of fancy; but would Mr. Peck have believed that the jesuit would have subscribed either to Milton's or Basil's state of the doctrine of predestination and free-will?

Page 93, Mr. Peck gives the outlines of a tragedy sketched by Milton, and intituled, *Abram from Morea, or Isaac redeemed*. Dr. Birch had given this sketch before him; and Baron after him; but none of them seems to have been aware that Theodore Beza wrote a tragedy in French, on the same subject, but on a very different plan. Johannes Jacomotus, a person for whom Beza seems to have had some esteem, translated it into Latin. The French tragedy is to be found in the edition of Beza's poems, 1576. In the quarto of 1597 there is only the Latin translation by Jacomot, who seems to have made considerable alterations in the plan, by introducing Eliezer Abraham's steward, equipping Satan with the cowl of a Monk, &c.

Had this tragedy fallen in the way of Mr. Peck, it would have afforded him matter of much speculation in comparing the several plans of Beza and Milton. We conjecture, that Milton had only seen Jacomot's translation. But see Mr. Bayle's Dict. art. Beza, Rem. [F].

Mr.







JOHN MILTON

DRAWN AND ETCHED MDCCLX BY I.B. CIPRIANI A TVSCAN  
AT THE DESIRE OF THOMAS HOLLIS F.R. AND A.SS. FROM  
A PORTRAIT IN CRAYONS NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF  
MESS. TONSON BOOKSELLERS IN THE STRAND LONDON

———— I SING WITH MORTAL VOICE *INCHANG'D*  
*TO HOARCE OR MUTE* THOUGH FALL'N *ON EVIL DAYES*  
ON EVIL DAYES THOUGH FALL'N AND EVIL TONGVES  
IN DARKNESS AND *WITH DANGERS COMPAST ROVND*  
AND SOLITVDE —————



Mr. Peck was certainly a laborious, though not a judicious, collector of fragments ; and though Dr. Birch's *Life of Milton* was prior to Mr. Peck's memoirs, Baron's edition of that *Life*, which was published some years after, might have been improved from these memoirs. We are told, indeed, in a note found among Mr. Hollis's papers, that Millar would not suffer Baron to write *Milton's Life* anew, for the benefit of the quarto edition of 1753, lest offence should be given to Dr. Birch. But we suspect the fact to be, that neither Mr. Hollis nor Baron had seen Peck's memoirs at that time. Mr. Hollis's conversation with Mr. Vertue concerning the portrait of Milton, happened in the year 1755 ; and his account of it in a blank leaf, before his copy of Peck's memoirs, bears date so late as Nov. 17, 1764, whence we suppose the book had not then been long in his possession.

Mr. Peck, p. 202. gives us two noble passages from Milton's profane-works, as "a taste of Milton's poetical and phanatical enthusiasm." We shall only say, that whatever the men might be who brought the flattering prospect of a thorough church reformation into Milton's view, Milton himself was certainly in earnest, and did not leave the presbyterians, or, in Mr. Peck's phrase, "did not grow sick of them," till they left the principles upon which he had joined them ; and had re-adopted "human principles and carnal sense, the pride of flesh, that still cried up antiquity, custom, canons, councils, and laws, and cried down the truth for novelty, schism, profaneness, and sacrilege."

We pretend not to judge what poetry there may be in this description ; but we are sure there is a great deal of truth in it, both with respect to the church before 1641, the presbyterian system after it, and the episcopal church from the Restoration down to this present hour. Are not the hearts of those from whom, after so many calls and opportunities of reformation, better things might have been expected, still "rivetted with the old opinions, and obstructed and benumbed with the same fleshly reasonings which in our forefathers soon melted and gave way against the morning beam of reformation ?" and, after all these "spiritual preparatives and purgations," have they not "their earthly apprehensions still clamm'd and furred with the old leaven ?"

All this undoubtedly appeared to Mr. Peck, and still appears to the men of his complexion, to be nothing better than poetical rant, and

Y y y

phanatical

phanatical enthusiasm. But the consequences seem very likely to convince us, that the man spoke not from his mere imagination, but from the more sure word of prophecy.

In that other long citation which Mr. Peck calls "The case," p. 205. there is an affecting expostulation of Milton with himself, upon the supposition that he should spare his pains, or hide his talents, when the state of the church of God required him to exert them :

"This I foresee," says he, "that, should the church be brought under heavy oppression, and God hath given me ability the while to reason against that man that should be the author of so foul a deed, or should she, by blessing from above, on the industry and courage of faithful men, change this her distracted estate into better days, without the least furtherance or contribution of those few talents which God at that present had lent me, I foresee what stories I should hear within myself all my life after of discourage and reproach. Timorous and fearful, &c."

Mr. Peck did well to suppress this preface, as it would have shewn that the passage was not quite so phanatical as his reader might imagine whilst it stands without it.

Among other things in this case suggested by this matchless man to himself, he says : "Thou hadst the diligence, the parts, the language, of a man, if a vain subject were to be adorned or beautified ; but when the cause of God and his church was to be pleaded, for which purpose that tongue was given thee which thou hast, God listened if he could hear thy voice among his zealous servants, but thou wast dumb as a beast ; from henceforward be that which thine own brutish silence hath made thee."

If some men among us who have lived in the late and present times, when the expedience of church reformation hath once more been argued with warmth and energy, would have submitted to *commune with their own hearts*, Milton's *phanaticism* might not perhaps have been unuseful, if they had only employed a philosophical meditation upon it.

We may safely trust it to the reader's judgment, who marks the impression of this sentiment, whether, in Milton's own opinion, his *Paradise lost* was more *servicable to the world, or to true religion or virtue*, than his prose writings, as Mr. Richardson endeavoured to persuade his readers.

Mr.



Mr. Peck, preface to Baptistes, p. 274. inquires into Milton's religion, and, for a criterion, pitches upon his "unalterable aversion for the "clergy of every sort," and thence concludes he was a quaker. After this he refers us to Toland and Richardson, who seem not to have been much better judges of Milton's religion than Mr. Peck.

Toland, however, whether himself a deist or not, could not, with his eyes open, class Milton in that fraternity, who every where expresses so warm and profound a veneration for revelation; I mean in his prose-works: for Mr. Peck seems to have been of opinion, that Milton might, in his poetry, employ scriptural imagery by way of embellishment, without having any piety or any faith, referring to a passage in Mr. Bayle's Dictionary. He *stops short*, indeed, at the application; but we understand him, and that is sufficient.

Richardson has told us a tale of Milton and one of his servants, *an honest silly fellow*, from an hearsay of many years standing, which deserves no regard, whether credited or not, much less to be transcribed by Mr. Peck.

"Possibly Milton," says Mr. Richardson, p. xlviii. "thought all national churches, or public religion, had something in them political, something corrupted from the simplicity that is in CHRIST."

*Possibly* only! however it was well guessed. But if Messrs. Richardson and Peck were not sure of it, they were incompetent to give the public an account of Milton's religion.

Mr. Peck, however, will have him to have been a quaker, and deism has been said to have been a leading principle of quakerism. Ergo. But the conclusion will not hold, if Mrs. Catherine Thompson was a quaker, for Milton calls her, his "*Christian* friend." Fenton, in his edition of 1730, has given us the elegy, but has left Mrs. Thompson in Trinity-college library. Dr. Newton has introduced her, for the first time, we suppose, to public notice; but seems to know nothing of her quakerism; nor perhaps would thank Mr. Peck for apprising the world of that circumstance, for which however he has given no better authority than his own.

We leave Mr. Peck's speculations on the translation of Buchanan's Baptistes to critics of more leisure and abilities. Nor shall we interpose

our sentiments on the two panegyrics of Oliver Cromwell, which we should not ascribe to Milton on the visionary presumptions exhibited by Mr. Peck. We have the original edition of these panegyrics before us, and believe, from their having the insignia of the republic (commonly called Oliver's Breeches) in the title page, they might be printed at the expence of the state.

Mr. Peck's emendations on the panegyrics are mostly right; but in the first page of the second he is certainly wrong, in substituting *diviso* for *divisa*, which has made nonsense of the period.

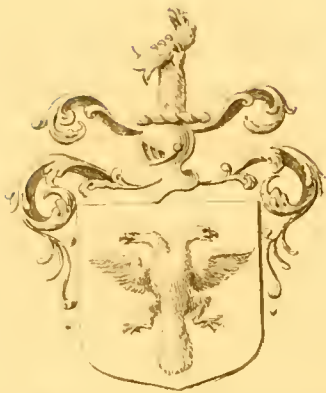
If a man would set himself down to devise one of the highest entertainments his imagination could furnish, he could not succede better, if he was a man of genius and judgment, than in exhibiting a conversation between Shakespeare and Milton in the shades, on the operation of their several critics and commentators. What infinite pleasantry would arise from their several observations! Shakespeare would appear in as mangled a condition as Deiphobus; Milton's wounds might perhaps be counted:—*Bis sex thoraca petunt*

*Perfossūque locis —*

But would amount to ten times the number of those of Mezentius.

If Theobald had left us Shakespeare's original text, so far as it could have been recovered, without the reveries of himself or others, he would have done laudable justice to the bard, and essential service to his readers; but he spoiled his plan, by taking in the conjectures of a much poorer critic than himself. The excellent Edwards avenged him with great propriety for the insults Theobald suffered for the folly of submitting his emendations to a cloud-cap'd critic, who had neither a head nor a heart for the province he *professed*.

Dr. Bentley aimed his strokes at the phantom of an editor; but we think Milton himself would have adapted many of Bentley's corrections, not without thanks. The Doctors Pearce and Newton prescribed, and the apothecaries, Say, Richardson, and Peck, brought plaisters for the broken head of this imaginary editor. But honest drudgery never yet did the work of genius with success.—But we forget—our business is with Milton of the commonwealth; we leave the poet Milton to the vindication of some future Addison, or some yet unborn Edwards.



*Gabriel. Manigault, Carolinensis, del.*  
*Bayle sc.*

REMARKS ON JOHNSON'S Life of MILTON, in the second volume of  
 "Prefaces biographical and critical to the Works of the English Poets."

WE were in hope that we had done with Milton's Biographers; and had little foresight that so accomplished an artificer of Language would have condescended to bring up the rear of his historians.

But it was not for the reputation of Mr. Johnson's politics that Milton should be abused for his principles of Liberty by a less eminent hand than his own. The minute snarlers, or *spumose* declaimers against the sentiments and diction of Milton's prose-works, had ceased to be regarded, till the maxims of some of those who pay Mr. Johnson's quarterages had occasioned an inquiry into the genuine principles of the English Government, when the writings of Milton, Sydney, Locke, &c. which the moderation of the last reign had left in some degree of neglect, were now taken down from the shelves where they had so long reposed, to confront the doctrines which, it had been presumed, would never more come into fashion.



No man contributed more to restore the esteem and credit of these noble patriotic writers than the late ever-to-be-honoured Mr. Hollis, of whose beautiful and accurate editions of Sydney's Discourses, of Locke on Government and Toleration, and of Toland's Life of Milton, we have spoken largely in the foregoing Memoirs.

Dr. Johnson's peace of mind required that this recovering taste of the public should not ripen into appetite, particularly for Milton's works, whose reputation he had formerly taken so much elegant pains to depreciate. The source of his disaffection to Milton's principles can be no secret to those who have been conversant in the controversies of the times. Dr. Johnson's early and well-known attachments will sufficiently account for it; and posterity will be at no loss to determine whether our biographer's veneration was paid to the *White Rose* or the *Red\**.

But Dr. Johnson's particular malevolence to Milton may not be so well known, or possibly forgot; we shall therefore give a short account of its progress, from its first appearance to its consummation in this Life of Milton.

In the year 1747, one William Lauder sent to the Gentleman's Magazine some hints of Milton's plagiarism, in pillaging certain modern writers for the materials of his poem, intituled *Paradise Lost*.

Who William Lauder was, what was his character, and of what stamp his moral and political principles, may be learned from a pamphlet, intituled *FURIUS*, printed for Carpenter, in Fleet-street, without a date; but, as evidently appears by the Remarks at the end of it, published soon after Lauder's appearance in the Gentleman's Magazine, with his famous discoveries.

Congenial politics create connections between men in whose abilities there is great disparity. Buchanan's principles, in his dialogue, *De jure Regni apud Scotos*, were equally detested by the noted Thomas Ruddiman and William Lauder. But Lauder's malignity could never prevail with the ingenuous Ruddiman to detract from Buchanan's poetical merit, in compliance with Lauder's furious zeal in favour of Johnston's Latin translation of David's Psalms, to which Lauder gave the preference.

\* See Preface to Milton, p. 2.

In his alliance with Dr. Johnson, cemented by their mutual antipathy to Milton's principles of civil and religious government, he found a paternal indulgence of his splenetic animosity.

Milton was a Whig, and therefore must be a Plagiary; accordingly when the time came that Lauder's strictures in the Gentleman's Magazine had swelled into the size of a pamphlet of 160 pages, it was ushered into public by a preface, and finished by a postscript, from the illustrious hand of Dr. Samuel Johnson.

On occasion of these head and tail-pieces the ingenious Dr. Douglas, the detector of Lauder's forgeries, writes thus :

" 'Tis to be hoped, nay, 'tis *expected*, that the elegant and nervous writer, whose judicious sentiments and inimitable stile point out the author of Lauder's Preface and Postscript, will no longer allow one to *plume himself with his feathers*, who appears so little to have deserved his assistance; an assistance which, I am persuaded, would never have been communicated, had there been the least suspicion of those facts which I have been the instrument of conveying to the world \*."

This favourable presumption was ill-founded and premature. It appeared afterwards, by the confession of Lauder himself, that, "in Johnson's friendship he placed the most *implicit* and unlimited confidence †."

Dr. Johnson had said for his friend, at the end of the *Essay*, that "Lauder's motives were, a strict regard to truth alone, &c. and none of them taken from any difference of country, or of sentiments in political or religious matters ‡." This Lauder, in his pamphlet of 1754, expressly contradicted, and avowed motives of party and premeditated deception §. Here the cat leaped out of the bag. It was now notorious that the fable had been inverted. The Lion roared in the Ass's skin; and if the Lion had not the whole asinine plan communicated to him *à priori*, Lauder's confidence in his friend Johnson was neither implicit nor unlimited.

\* Milton vindicated from the charge of Plagiarism, &c. by John Douglas, M. A. for Millar, 1751. p. 77.

† King Charles I. vindicated, p. 3, 4.

‡ Essay, p. 163.

§ King Charles I. vindicated from the charge of Plagiarism, brought against him by Milton. Printed for Owen, 1754. p. 11.

Dr. Johnson, indeed, *it is to be suspected*, took upon him the patronage of Lauder's project from the beginning; and bore his part in the controversy retailed in the Gentleman's Magazine for the year 1747. There is at least a HIGH DEGREE OF PREPOLLENT PROBABILITY, that the Letter in that Magazine, for the month of August, page 363, 364, signed WILLIAM LAUDER, came from the amicable hand of Mr. Samuel Johnson.

In the year 1751 was published Lauder's penitential letter \* to Dr. Douglas, containing a full and free confession of his roguery: the merit of which was totally overthrown by a contradictory postscript; which is thus accounted for by Lauder himself, after informing his readers, that his confidential friend advised an *unreserved* disclosure of his imposture.

"With this expedient," says Lauder, "I then chearfully complied, *when that gentleman wrote for me that letter that was published in my name to Mr. Douglas*, in which he committed one error that proved fatal to me, and at the same time injurious to the public. For in the place of acknowledging that such and such particular passages only were interpolated, he gave up the whole essay against Milton as delusion and misrepresentation, and therefore imposed more grievously on the public than I had done; and that too in terms much more submissive and abject than the nature of the offence required †."

The amanuensis here gained two considerable points. 1. It was at his option to mention or not the assistance that Lauder had in composing his essay; and consequently to conceal in what degree the fraud was communicated to him from the beginning. 2. He effectually answered Mr. Douglas's expectation, who would naturally conclude that Lauder had no accomplices in his villany, except the Jesuits.

But they who read Lauder's complaints of this confidential friend in the pamphlet just quoted, must superabound both in faith and charity, if they can believe that the composer of the letter to Mr. Douglas was unconscious of Lauder's forgery, previously to Dr. Douglas's detection of it.

\* Quarto, printed for Owen, 1751.

† Vindication of King Charles I. p. 4.



A postscript to a second edition of Dr. Douglas's *Vindication*, dated May 17, 1756, finished the controversy. Lauder was disgraced with the public, and discarded by his amanuensis, who turned a deaf ear to all his reproaches, and abandoned him to his fate, with a cool philosophical apathy, void of all ambition to share with him the blushing honours himself had so generously contributed to thicken upon Lauder's devoted head.

The effects of his journey-work, in defaming Milton, being thus disappointed by the laudable diligence of Dr. Douglas, and the unmanageable petulance of Lauder, common prudence suggested to our Biographer the expedience of suppressing his impatience for another opportunity of lessening the public veneration for Milton's merit. Accordingly he laid-by his project for about two years, when he might reasonably hope his manœuvres under the hide of Lauder would be forgotten, or laid asleep by a succession of that variety of entertainment which the press is always providing for the public on all sorts of subjects.

In January 1758 he released himself from his quarantine, and appeared in the Literary Magazine for that month, holding forth to the public his POETICAL SCALE, the particulars of which, save what relates to Milton, we leave to the critics by profession. This is what he says of Milton :

“ I am sensible that in the calculations I have here exhibited I have,  
 “ in many instances, strong prejudices against me. The friends of  
 “ Milton will not yield to Shakespeare the superiority of genius, which,  
 “ I think, lies on the side of Shakespeare. Both of them have faults.  
 “ But the faults of Shakespeare were those of Genius; those of Milton  
 “ of the MAN OF GENIUS. The former arises from *imagination* getting  
 “ the better of *judgment*; the latter from *habit* getting the better of  
 “ *imagination*. Shakespeare's faults were those of a *great poet*; those  
 “ of Milton of a *little pedant*. When Shakespeare is *execrable* he is so  
 “ exquisitely so, that he is as inimitable in his blemishes as in his  
 “ beauties. The puns of Milton betray a *narrowness of education*, and a  
 “ *degeneracy of habit*.”

Thus

Thus far Dr. Johnson's exhibition of Milton in the scale of poetical merit, which perhaps at the bottom may amount to no more than that Milton could not *make a saddle, or dance upon the rope* \*. But this too we leave to critics on poetry, of whom we should request to explain the difference between a *Genius*, and a *Man of Genius*, and by what operation, *habit*, in the abstract, gets the better of *imagination*; remarking only for ourselves, that for the balance-master to reproach Milton for his pedantry is certainly betraying a strange unconsciouness of his own talents, unless he depends upon his reader's sagacity in discriminating a *great* pedant from a *little* one. He is obliged, however, to complete the humiliation of Milton, to put his prose-works into the scale.

"His theological quibbles and perplexed speculations are daily equalled and excelled by the most abject enthusiasts; and if we consider him as a prose-writer, he has neither the learning of a scholar, nor the manners of a gentleman. There is no force in his reasoning, no elegance in his style, and no taste in his composition."

Peremptory, but not decisive! To make this go down, even with a moderate tory, it should have been added, that the *narrowness* of Milton's education prevented, not only his proficiency in the study of the abstruser sciences, but even in the elemental acquisitions of reading or spelling.

"We are therefore," continues the critic, "to consider him in one fixed point of light, that of a great poet, with a laudable envy of rivalling, eclipsing and excelling all who attempted sublimity of sentiment and description."

Could this be a hopeful attempt in so wretched a writer of prose? or does the critic propose to entertain his readers with a miracle, or only with a paradox? Immediately however the critic withdraws Milton from this fixed *point of light*, and places his sublimity of sentiment and description in contrast with Shakespeare's amiable variety; and concludes, "that Shakespeare could have *wrote* like Milton, but Milton could never have *wrote* like Shakespeare."

\* See Cibber's Letter to Pope, p. 35.

Does not the Doctor here overturn his own metaphysical system? Shakespeare's *judgement*, to have qualified him to write like Milton, must have got the better of his *imagination*; a confinement of Shakespeare's powers not half so possible as that Dr. Johnson should turn Whig.

"Some may think," says the Doctor, in this same poetical scale, "that I have under-valued the character of Waller; but, in my own opinion, I have rather over-rated it."

He has however made ample amends for this lenity in writing Waller's life; and it is a very gentle censure passed upon him by the Critical Reviewers \*, "that the Doctor's remarks on some of our best poets, particularly Milton and Waller, whose political opinions by no means coincided with his own, may be thought rather too severe."

It was Waller's misfortune (a misfortune only in the scale of Dr. Johnson) to be born of a mother who was sister to the illustrious patriot John Hampden, whom the Doctor calls *the zealot of rebellion*, by the same figure of speech which represents Christopher Milton, as *taught by the law*, to adhere to king Charles, who was breaking the law every day, by a thousand of those arbitrary acts and oppressions which make up the description of a tyrant.

It is not easy to determine which, in this character of Hampden, is the more conspicuous, the zeal of the loyalist, or *the manners of the Gentleman*. The man talks in one place of Milton's *brutality*. We could wish to have his definition of the term, that we may not injure him in the *adoption* of it to his own style.

But Milton only, for the present, is our client, and only Milton the prose-writer, who, in that character, must ever be an eyesore to men of Dr. Johnson's principles; principles that are at enmity with every patron of public liberty, and every pleader for the legal rights of Englishmen, which, in their origin, are neither more nor less than the natural rights of all mankind.

Milton, in contending for these against the tyrant of the day and his abettors, was serious, energetic, and irrefragable. He bore down all the silly sophisms in favour of despotic power like a torrent, and all

\* For May, 1779.



his adversaries nothing to reply, but the rhetoric of Billingsgate, from which Lauder, in the end of his pamphlet, intituled, "King Charles I. vindicated, &c." has collected a nosegay of the choicest flowers; and pity it was, that he was too early to add his friend Johnson's character of Milton the prose-writer to the favourable bouquet.

When the Doctor found, on some late occasions, that his crude abuse and malicious criticisms would not bring down Milton to the degree of contempt with the public which he had assigned him in the scale of prose-writers; he fell upon an expedient which has sometimes succeeded in particular exigencies. In one word, he determined to write his Life.

There are no men so excellent who have not some personal or casual defect in their bodily frame, some awkward peculiarity in their manners or conversation, some scandalous calumny tacked to their private history, or some of those natural failings which distinguish human from angelic beings.

On the other hand, few men are so totally abandoned and depraved as to have no remnants of grace and goodness, no intervals of sobriety, no touches of regret for departed innocence, no sense of those generous passions which animate the wise and good to praise-worthy actions, or no natural or acquired abilities to abate the resentment of the reputable public, and to atone, in some degree, for their immoralities.

A man of genius, who has words and will to depress or raise such characters respectively, will consider little in his operations upon them, but the motives and occasions which call for his present interference; and the world who know the artificer will make it no wonder that the encomiast and apologist of the profligate Richard Savage should employ his pen to satyrize and calumniate the virtuous John Milton.

"The Life of Milton," says Dr. Johnson, "has been already written in so many forms, with such minute enquiry, that I might perhaps more properly have contented myself with the addition of a few notes to Mr. Fenton's elegant Abridgement, but that a new narrative was thought necessary to the uniformity of this edition \*."

\* Life of Milton, p. 1.

The uniformity of editions is commonly the bookseller's care, and the necessity of such uniformity generally arises from the taste of the public, of which, among the number of names exhibited in the title-pages of these volumes, there must be many competent judges. It would be a pity however that a conformity to this taste should engage Dr. Johnson, in writing this Life, to go beyond what would *more properly* have contented himself; the least intimation from the Biographer of the *impropriety* of a *new narrative* would, we are persuaded, have made the undertakers of the edition contented with the Doctor's plan.

He might not indeed have found the means to introduce certain particulars, which embellish his *new narrative*, into his notes on Mr. Fenton's abridgement, in which there is a vein of candor that does the writer more honour than the ingenuity of his performance; not to mention the different judgment, from that of Dr. Johnson, formed by Mr. Fenton, on some of Milton's poetical pieces.

We therefore believe this *new narrative* was calculated rather for Dr. Johnson's private *contentment* than the necessities of the edition.

A few instances will serve to shew the probability of this surmise.

All the writers of Milton's Life before Dr. Johnson speak of the esteem with which Milton was honoured by his fellow-members of Christ's College at Cambridge. Milton values himself upon it at a time when the under-workers of the royalists, who sent different accounts to the defenders of Salmasius abroad, might have effectually confuted him. Let us now observe the contrast.

“ Of the exercises which the rules of the university required some  
 “ were published by him in his maturer years. They had been un-  
 “ doubtedly applauded, for they were such as few can perform; yet  
 “ there is reason to suspect, that he was regarded in his college with no  
 “ great fondness. That he obtained no fellowship is certain; but the  
 “ unkindness with which he was treated was not merely negative. I  
 “ am ashamed to relate what I fear is true; that Milton was the last  
 “ student in either university that suffered the public indignity of corpo-  
 “ ral correction \*.”

\* Milton's Life, p. 7, 8.

This silly tale is taken from Warton's "Life and Remains of Dean Bathurst," and retailed by Warton from some manuscripts of Aubrey the antiquarian in the Ashmolean Museum, whose anile credulity has disabled him from being a writer of any authority. In what manner, and with what circumstances, this corporal correction was inflicted in either university, we are not informed. Warton's words are, that "Milton was *actually* whipped by Dr. Thomas Bainbrigge, Master of Christ's College, while he was at Cambridge." Dr. Johnson calls it a *public indignity*, which is an *improvement* upon Aubrey, and renders the fact still more improbable. There is no specification of the offence, or of the time of the correction; and we may presume, that, when this wholesome severity was most in vogue in either university, the head of a college would hardly make himself so ridiculous as to condescend to execute the office of a parish beadle \*.

There is another presumption against this anecdote. Warton observes, that Wood, who, according to him, compiled his account of Milton from Aubrey's manuscript, has omitted some circumstances, particularly this of his flagellation. Aubrey pretends he had his information from Milton's own mouth, or from his relations after his death, at least so he told Wood, who could not be supposed to omit this circumstance from any good will he bore to Milton's memory. We may then reasonably suspect, that Wood did not believe it, and that he was convinced Aubrey was misinformed; and suppose the story should be one of those which Aubrey had from Milton's own mouth, Milton would hardly give him an account of the punishment, without signifying what was the fault.

Dr. Johnson says, "Milton was the last student in *either university* that suffered this corporal correction." Now Mr. Warton tells us, that "the whip was an instrument of academical correction, not entirely laid aside in the old age of Dr. Bathurst †;" but Bathurst survived Milton thirty years; and the time of Milton's admission above eighty. If Milton therefore was the last sufferer by this illiberal pu-

\* We have been informed, that the manner of whipping young unlucky academics was, to hoist them upon the college buttery hatch, where the discipline was inflicted by the butler.

† Life of Bathurst, p. 302.



nishment in Cambridge, that university got the start of Oxford\* in *civilisation* by at least 50 or 60 years, which is more honour, we believe, than Dr. Johnson desired Mr. Warton should confer upon it.

Mr. Warton says, "This" [meaning the whipping bout] "explains" more fully a passage in one of Milton's elegies :

"Nec duri libet usque minas perferre magistris,

"Cæteraque ingenio non subeunda meo."

Where, in Mr. Warton's ideas, *cætera* signifies flogging. But Dr. Johnson having noted that it signifies something else besides threats, interprets it into something more, i. e. more severe, namely, punishment. But he seems to be in doubt whether that punishment was whipping or banishment; and with reason, for *cætera* may signify something more, i. e. something *over* and *besides* threats, and yet something *else* besides either whipping or rustication. The most natural interpretation of the second line seems to be, that those college exercises known by the name of *impositions* (oftentimes prescribed as punishments) did not suit Milton's genius, being indeed even within our memory calculated rather for the drudgery of an industrious plodder than suited to the genius of a youth of parts and spirit. Wonderful must be that *genius* which has a taste for being flogged or banished!

"It seems plain," says the *new narrative*, "from his own verses to" "Diodati, that he had incurred *rustication*, a temporary dismissal into" "the country, with perhaps the loss of a term."

Milton was admitted of Christ's College, February 12, 1624-5. He took his bachelor's degree in 1628, so that without a *pehaps* he lost no term. In every college there is or should be a register, in which are entered all orders for expulsion and rustication of delinquents. This is necessary for the justification of the masters and fellows against whom appeals and complaints are often lodged by the sufferers, either before the visitor or in Westminster-Hall. We have been informed, from the

\* "In the public statutes of Oxford, the injunction of inflicting corporal punishment on boys under sixteen remains unrepealed, and in force at this day; but the execution of this law, so repugnant to every liberal and decent idea, has been long abolished. Yet this code of statutes was compiled no longer ago than the year 1635. It was, however, no uncommon practice at a college in Oxford, where the foundation-scholars are elected very young, actually to punish with the rod as far down as the beginning of the present century." *Gent. Mag. Oct. 1779.*

best authority, that there is an entry in the register of this very college, importing, that a candidate for a fellowship \*, being rejected by the society, was, upon calling in the visitor †, established in his right, not without some severe expressions inserted in the sentence, which the visitor, upon application, refused to expunge.

If therefore the Registers of Christ's College are silent with respect to the expulsion of John Milton, it is *not plain* that he was either expelled or rusticated, not to mention that the terms, *vetitularis et exilium*, may refer to twenty causes besides that assigned by the new Biographer. If Milton's return to college was voluntary, it would be invidious to ascribe his absence to compulsion, unless you will suppose that the prohibition was the effect of his father's œconomy, which is by far most likely to have been the case.

Milton however was certainly out of humour with the universities (except perhaps with a few of his ingenious and judicious friends in them); and Dr. Johnson gives us our choice of two causes of it, *the injudicious severity of his governors, and Milton's captious perverseness* ‡.

Had Milton left us nothing upon the subject but rude and indiscriminate abuse of the universities, Dr. Johnson's alternative in assisting us to account for it had been liberal and gracious. But the single letter of Milton to Hartlib shews that his objections were of another sort, and took their rise neither from any resentment against his governors for their severity, nor from any perverseness of his own temper. So far from blaming their severity, he reproves the *idle vacancies* given both to schools and universities, as a detrimental and improper indulgence; with respect to his own disposition, nothing appears here but a desire to meliorate the mode of education, in which Hartlib was as hearty as himself; and it appears by our late academical reformations, that the authors of them were no more in humour with the methods of their predecessors than Milton himself.

It is true, Milton was zealous for Reformation in the church, and who can say it was not wanted? or who but Dr. Johnson *will* say it?

\* The late Dr. Hutton, Archbishop of Canterbury.

† Bishop Sherlock, then Vicechancellor.

‡ Life, p. 10.

Milton laid the errors and abuses in the church to the account of the bishops. The bishops countenanced and encouraged the universities; and it was but natural for the universities in their turn to inculcate that sort of learning which tended to uphold the episcopal authority, and consequently to prevent the reformation Milton wished for.

“One of his objections,” says the Doctor, “to academical education, as it was then conducted, is, that men designed for orders in the church were permitted to act plays, *writbing and unboning their clergy limbs to all the antic and dishonest gestures of Trinculoes, buffoons, and bawds, prostituting the shame of that ministry, which either they had or were nigh having, to the eyes of courtiers and court-ladies, with their grooms and madamoiselles* \*.”

Num fingit, num mentitur! If *Ignoramus* was well acted at Trinity College, these ludicrous appearances must be exhibited to the spectators, who were persons exactly answering the description here given of them; and if the characters were personated by clergymen, or candidates for orders, there is propriety, as well as truth, in Milton’s reflection. But this is not the objection.

“This is sufficiently peevish,” says the Doctor, “in a man, who, when he mentions his exile from the college, relates, with great luxuriance, the compensation which the pleasures of the theatre afford him. Plays were therefore only criminal when they were acted by academics †.”

The Doctor undoubtedly depended, that he had sufficiently disgusted his readers with his account of Milton’s prose-writings, to prevent their looking for the context to his quotation, to which there is no reference or mention of the tract from whence it is taken.

Perhaps indeed some of the more moderate dolizers of Dr. Johnson might perceive, even from this mutilated citation, that Milton did not blame these actors as they were *academics*, but as they were *clergymen*. But Milton had likewise another objection to them; they were *scurvy performers*.

\* Apology for Smectymnus, p. 110. Birch’s ed.

† Life, p. 12.

“There,”



“ There,” says Milton, “ while they acted and over-acted, among other young scholars, I was a spectator; they thought themselves gallant men, and I thought them fools; they made sport, and I laughed; they mis-pronounced, and I disliked; and, to make up the atticism, they were out, and I his’d \*.”

These were not the faults of men of the theatrical profession who were daily practitioners upon the stage, and by whom Milton was so highly entertained in the metropolis.

Milton’s episcopalian opponents reproached him as a dissolute rake, and, among other irregularities, mentioned his frequenting the theatres, which they inferred from his speaking of vizzards and false beards. He answers, that there was no occasion to go to the public playhouses to learn the uses of these disguises; forasmuch as plays were acted in the universities, with the approbation of bishops, where these characteristical properties were to be seen as well as at the public theatres. “ And,” he concludes, “ if it be unlawful to sit and behold a mercenary comedian personating *that which is least unseemly for an hireling to do*, how much more blameful is it to endure the sight of as vile things acted by persons, either entered, or presently to enter into the ministry! and how much more foul and ignominious for them to be the actors †!”

Is then Dr. Johnson’s THEREFORE, the introduction of a fair inference? or do slander and misrepresentation then only lose their malignity when delivered by the pen of Dr. Johnson?

Every page of the *new narrative* is full of mean flings and malevolent surmises on Milton’s most indifferent actions, which it would be endless to remark with a proper reproof of each. We shall therefore only select a few of the most reprehensible, either on account of their want of candour, or want of veracity.

Page 24. It is thus written, “ Let not our veneration for Milton forbid us to look with some degree of merriment on great promises and small performances, on the man who hastens home because his country-men are contending for their liberty, and when he reaches the scene of action vapours away his patriotism in a private boarding-school.”

\* Apology, p. 213.

† Apology, *ibid.*

This sneer is derived from a reflection of Mr. Fenton, to whom it  
 “seemed wonderful that one, of so warm and daring a spirit as Milton’s  
 “certainly was, should be restrained from the camp in those unnatural  
 “commotions\* ;” and whence Dr. Johnson takes the liberty to subsume :  
 “But Milton was restrained from the camp, therefore his patriotism was  
 “vapoured away.”

But was there no scene of patriotic action but in the camp ? or will  
 Dr. Johnson allow that Milton could have done more for the liberty of  
 his countrymen with his sword than he did with his pen † ?

Philips informs us, that Milton arrived in England from his travels  
 “about the time of the King’s making his second expedition against the  
 “Scots ‡ ;” and so say Toland, Newton, &c ; and it was in the very  
 same year that Milton published his Discourses of Reformation in two  
 books, founded on the same principles of liberty for which his coun-  
 trymen were contending in the camp.

The same Mr. Philips says, that, within the first two years that Milton  
 inhabited the house which the *new narrative* dignifies with the name  
 of *boarding school* §, he set out not only the tract above-mentioned, but  
 likewise the several treatises against Prelatical Episcopacy, on the Reason  
 of Church-Government, Defence of Smectymnus, and others.

Dr. Johnson will hardly deny that these patriotic pieces *vapoured*  
 beyond the environs of Milton’s boarding school, even perhaps to the  
 warmest *scene of action*, the Commons’ House of Parliament : nor can  
 we think he will (except in a fit of merriment) call them small per-  
 formances, with respect to their effects ; as he himself must know by

\* Fenton’s Life of Milton, p. x.

† Neque enim militiæ labores et pericula sic defugi, ut non alia ratione, et operam multo utiliore, nec minore cum periculo, meis civibus navârim, et animum dubiis in rebus neque demissum unquam, neque ullius invidia, vel etiam mortis plus æquo metuentem præstiterim. Nam cum ab adolescentulo humanioribus esset studiis, ut qui maxime deditus, et ingenio semper quam corpore validior, posthabita castrensi opera, qua me gregarius quilibet robustior facile superâisset, ad ea me contuli quibus plus potui, ut parte mei meliore ac potiore, si sperem, non deteriore, ad rationes patriæ, causamque hanc præstantissimam, quantum maxime possem momentum accederem.

Miltoni Defensio secunda pro Populo Anglicano, p. 366. vol. II. of Baron’s edition of his prose-works.

‡ Philips, p. xvi.

§ The expression was familiar to this writer : “At Edial, near Litchfield, in Staffordshire, young gentlemen are *boarded*, and taught the Latin and Greek Languages, by SAMUEL JOHNSON.”

*Advertisement in Gent. Mag.* 1736, p. 428.

experience

experience the service that political pamphlets do to the faction their authors adhere to, when seasonably published. The merit of the faction, or of the author, is out of the question. We believe it will not be disputed, that Milton was as valuable a writer to the party he espoused, as Dr. Johnson is to the present administration, though not (at the time referred to) *bought with a price*.

The Doctor says, "This is a part of his life from which all his biographers seem inclined to shrink. They are unwilling that Milton should be degraded to a schoolmaster; but since it cannot be denied that he taught boys, one finds out that he taught for nothing; and another, that his motive was only zeal for the propagation of learning; and all tell what they do not know to be true, only to excuse an act which no wise man will consider as in itself disgraceful. His father was alive, his allowance was not ample, and he supplied its deficiencies by an honest and useful employment."

This is said with more confidence than the Doctor's carelessness in consulting Milton's Biographers will justify. Philips is not *one* and *another*; and he is the only original from whom those who have apologized for Milton's employment in teaching youth have copied.

Whether Toland knew the particulars of Milton's motives, must be left to God and his own conscience; but to say that "Milton had no fordid or mercenary purposes" will not imply that he *taught for nothing*.

Milton's friends are obliged to Dr. Johnson for doing credit to his supposed occupation of a schoolmaster; but Toland had done it before him, whose remarks would hardly have been seconded in the *new narrative*, if the author had not had some fellow-feeling of the reproach of Milton's adversaries; a circumstance that gave us some especial wonder that the Doctor should be so much *ashamed* of the whipping story retailed from Aubrey.

Concerning this part of Milton's life, Mr. John Philips must, out of all comparison, be the most authentic historian: He was Milton's pupil from the beginning; and they who attend to the series of facts in his account will perceive how much Dr. Johnson's speculations on *vagrant inattention*, *suggish indifference*, and *absurd misapprehension*, introduced by way of confuting those facts, might have been spared.

We



“ We are told,” says the *new narrative*, “ that in the art of education he performed wonders ; and a formidable list is given of the authors Greek and Latin that were read in Aldersgate-street by *youth* between ten and fifteen or sixteen years of age.” And then follows the wife observation, that “ nobody can be taught faster than he can learn \*.”

But who were these *youth* ? Even his sister’s two sons, (perhaps only one of them, the younger) ; as appears by what Philips says after he had specified the *formidable list*.

“ Now persons,” says he, “ so far manuducted into the highest paths of literature, both divine and human, had they received his documents with the same acuteness of wit and apprehension, the same industry, alacrity, and thirst after knowledge, as the instructor was indued with, what prodigies of wit and learning might they have proved ! the scholars might, in some degree, have come near to the equalling the master, or at least have in some sort made good what he seems to predict in the close of an elegy he made in the seventeenth year of his age, upon the death of one of his sister’s children (a daughter) who died in her infancy.” The last couplet of which elegy is,

This if thou do, he will an offspring give  
That to the world’s last end shall make thy name to live†.

Hence it is clear that the persons *so far manuducted* were only, at the most, the two Philipses, the offspring of Milton’s sister, whose name would be little connected with the proficiency of a promiscuous number of boys in a boarding-school.

In the next place, Mr. Philips is before-hand with Dr. Johnson in assigning the causes of the little comparative proficiency made by the persons so *manuducted* ; where common good-manners would restrain him from taxing the hebetude, the idleness, the indolence, and indifference of any students, except of himself or his brother. And indeed it plainly appears that the “ addition of some scholars ‡” was posterior to

\* New Narrative, p. 27.

† Philips, p. xix.

‡ Philips, p. xxi.

the course of reading Milton went through with his nephews, and was one of those *several occasions of increasing his family*, apparently after he had written the tracts above-mentioned.

If Toland, and Milton's Biographers, subsequent to Philips, made more of this matter than Philips's history authorized, we do not commend them. But it was surely the business of a new narrative to correct their inaccuracies, and not invidiously to represent Milton as *performing wonders*, which it is not pretended by him, who knew the best, that he *did* perform; and then to shew the impracticability of the thing by remarks borrowed from his informer, and put upon the reader as the product of his own sagacity.

In another place the Doctor says\*, "From this wonder-working academy I do not know that there ever proceeded any man very eminent for knowledge; its only genuine product, I believe, is a small history of poetry, written in Latin by his nephew, of which perhaps none of my readers has ever heard."

Every writer may presume, conjecture, and believe, as much as he pleases in all cases where he cannot be contradicted; and so may we. Our answers to this then are,

1. *Bernardus non vidit omnia*. There may have been men and things of which Dr. Johnson hath no knowledge. Wood says, *both* Milton's nephews were writers†; and there may be still more genuine products of Milton's scholastic institution than Dr. Johnson ever heard of.

2. From this reflection it may be inferred, that Milton's pupils were not so numerous as the Doctor's hypothesis requires they should have been.

3. The students in Milton's academy (being the sons of men of like spirit and principles with their master) would not, upon leaving his boarding-school, *vapour away* their patriotism in writing books; but proceed to *scenes of action* not very favourable to the muses, or philosophical speculation.

Though some of Milton's pupils might, in the days of their maturity, write like angels, their performances in favour of Liberty would

\* Johnson, p. 31.

† Ath. Oxon, vol. I. Fasti, p. 263.

be execrated into obscurity and contempt, upon the turn of the times, by the able proficient in the noble science of licensing.

The Doctor, speaking of Milton's *Areopagitica*, says, "The danger of such unbounded liberty [of unlicensed printing], and the danger of bounding it, have produced a problem, in the science of government, which *human understanding* seems unable to solve\*."

Let us then have recourse to a *divine understanding* for the solution of it. *Let both the tares and the wheat grow together till the harvest, lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them.*"

Next follows a curious see-saw of the arguments pro and con.

"If nothing may be published but what civil authority have previously approved, power must always be the standard of truth."

Would not one think that problem was thus solved at once? Is not this an alternative which even Dr. Johnson's predilection for power would hardly admit?

Hold a little, till we have shewn you the evils on the other side.

"If every dreamer of innovations may propagate his projects, there can be no settlement; if every murmurer at government may diffuse discontent, there can be no peace; if every sceptic in theology may teach his follies, there can be no religion."

Is it not better that power should be the standard of truth, than that we should have no settlement, no peace, no religion?

But says another writer, as honest a man, and at least as fair a reasoner, as Dr. Johnson, "If men were not to declare their opinions in spite of establishments either in church or state, truth would soon be banished the earth †;" and to this agrees John Milton. What is then to be done?

Why, says a moderator, punish the authors of these wicked publications; for Dr. Johnson tells you, "It is yet allowed that *every* society may punish, though not prevent, the publication of opinions which that society shall think pernicious."

We could mention very good sort of men, and no fools, who would not *allow* this to *every* society. But be this as it may, this allowance does not satisfy our Biographer; for, says he, "This punishment,

\* New Narrative, p. 45.

† Dedication of the *Essay on Spirit*.



“ though it may crush the author, promotes the book ; and it seems  
 “ not more reasonable to leave the right of printing unrestrained, be-  
 “ cause writers may be afterwards censured, than it would be to sleep  
 “ with our doors unbolted, because by our laws we can hang a thief.”  
 The conclusion is, hang every man who prints or publishes without a  
 license.

Hardy must be the man who can publish this sophistry with so many  
 contradictory facts staring him in the face. And distressing must be the  
 dilemma which obliges Dr. Johnson to admit either that the minority  
 have propagated no projects of innovation, diffused no discontents by  
 murmuring at government ; or that his friends the ministers of state  
 have not been able to protect the settlement, and keep the public peace.  
 If there can be no religion upon the supposition that every sceptic may  
 teach his follies, I am afraid the Doctor himself can have no religion ;  
 for such sceptics may and do teach their follies every day with all  
 freedom.

Perhaps times and seasons might be noted in some old almanac when  
 the good Doctor himself stole some trifles into the world through the  
 press, which did not much favour the legal settlement of the crown, or  
 tend to abate the discontents of the people.

Had the minister of the day, who then slept with his doors unbolted,  
 caught the thief with the dark-lanthorn in his pocket, and consigned  
 him over to the constable, the culprit undoubtedly would have availed  
 himself of Milton's plea, and we should have heard with a vengeance  
 of the wicked enmity of power to the cause of truth and loyalty. But  
 pensions and preferments are wonderful enlighteners ; and the free cir-  
 culation of sedition during the last reign, when many an honest Jaco-  
 bite propagated his discontents without the least apprehension for his  
 ears, is now become a pernicious policy, unworthy the wisdom and  
 dignity of an administration under the protection of the respectable Dr.  
 Samuel Johnson.

It is observable, that Milton addressed his noble tract, intituled, Are-  
 opagitica, to an antimonarchical parliament, from which he expected  
 the reformation of all the errors and encroachments of the late kingly  
 and prelatical government. He was above the little dirty prejudices or  
 pretences

pretences that they might be trusted with power, only because he approved of the men, or depended upon their favour to himself. He had his eye only on the cause, and when the Presbyterians deserted that, he deserted them, not out of humour, as this rancorous Biographer would insinuate \*, but because they fainted in the progress of that work to the completion of which their first avowed principles would have led them.

Would Dr. Johnson have chosen to have submitted his works to the licensers appointed by such a parliament? or would he venture to expostulate with the powers in being on any point of literary privilege, wherein he should think them essentially wrong, with that generous and honest freedom that Milton exhibits in this incomparable tract? No, he sneaks away from the question, and leaves it as he found it.

“As faction seldom leaves a man honest,” says the Doctor, p. 51, “however it might find him, Milton is suspected of having interpolated the book called Icon Basilike, which the council of state; to whom he was now made Latin Secretary, employed him to censure, by inserting a prayer, &c.”

The contexture of this sentence seems to be a little embarrassed; and to leave us under some uncertainty, whether Milton “interpolated by inserting,” or whether he was “employed to censure by inserting, &c.”

Milton, however, it seems, was “suspected of inserting, in the Icon Basilike, a prayer taken from Sidney’s Arcadia, and imputing it to the King, whom he charges, in his Iconoclastes, with the use of this prayer as with a heavy crime, in the indecent language with which prosperity had emboldened the advocates for rebellion to insult all that is venerable and great.”

Does the Doctor mean to say, that these *advocates for rebellion* insulted the venerable and great Creator of all things, or that there was nothing venerable and great but King Charles I. and his appurtenances? The imputation of blasphemy on the one side or the other is unavoidable.

\* See some sensible and masterly reflections on the subject in Dr. Moore’s *View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany*. See likewise Gilbert Mabbot’s reasons for desiring to be dismissed from the office of Licenser. Toland’s *Life of Milton*, Mr. Hollis’s edition, p. 57.

After

After which follows the citation from the Iconoclastes, where the imputation and the grounds of it are fairly and openly told. Now for the proof of the interpolation.

“ The papers which the King gave to Dr. Juxon on the scaffold the regicides took away, so that they were at least the publishers of this prayer.”

Let us parallel this with an inference from another scrap of English history.

“ The ministry took away Mr. Wilkes’s papers, among which was said to be the Essay on Woman; so that the ministers were at least the publishers of that Essay; and, considering the numbers of poets they have always at their beck, why may they not be suspected as the forgers of it?”

So reasoned Mr. Wilkes’s friends in the year 1763. Dr. Johnson knows what the ministerial writers replied; and let that suffice for an answer to this presumptive proof of Milton’s dishonesty. But,

“ Dr. Birch, who examined the question with great care, was inclined to think them [the Regicides] the forgers.”

Dr. Birch’s examination, careful as the Doctor represents it, was blameably partial in not giving Toland’s confutation of Dr. Gill’s tale its full strength; and indeed the examination seems to have been unsatisfactory to Birch himself, by its being left out of his Life of Milton, prefixed to the quarto edition of Milton’s prose-works.

Lauder however affirms, that, “ in Dr. Birch’s opinion, Milton was not guilty of the crime charged upon him; Milton and Bradshaw too, in the Doctor’s opinion, being persons of more honour than to be guilty of putting so vile a trick upon the King\*.”

Lauder perhaps had this declaration from Dr. Birch’s own mouth; it is confirmed however by the following reflection, in the quarto edition of Milton’s Life by Birch, p. xxxiii.

“ It is highly improbable that Milton and Bradshaw should make Hills† their confident unnecessarily in such an affair; and laugh in  
“ his

\* Lauder’s Vindication, p. 37.

† It is objected, to the testimony of Hills, that he turned papist in the reign of James II. and we find him characterized by Dunton, *Papist Hills stationer to James II.* He made an atonement, however, after the



“ his preface at their imposing such a cheat upon the world ; or that  
 “ he should conceal it during the life of the former, who survived the  
 “ Restoration so many years. So that such a testimony from such a  
 “ person is not to be admitted against a man who, as his learned and in-  
 “ genious editor [Bp. Newton] observes, had a soul above being guilty  
 “ of so mean an action.”

But let us examine this tale on another side :

Wagstaffe \* affirms, on the authority of the writer of *Clamor Regii Sanguinis*, &c. that “ the Regicides immediately seized Dr. Juxon, im-  
 “ prisoned him, and examined him with all possible rigour, and search-  
 “ ed him narrowly for all papers that he might have from the King,  
 “ even to scraps and parcels †.”

All this is manifest forgery. Bp. Juxon was neither seized nor im-  
 prisoned, nor searched for any papers ; nor were any papers required of  
 him but one ; of which we have the following account in Fuller’s  
 Church History :

“ His Majesty being upon the scaffold, held in his hand a small  
 “ piece of paper, some four inches square, containing heads whereon  
 “ in his speech he intended to dilate ; and a tall soldier, looking over  
 “ the King’s shoulders, read it, as the King held it in his hand.—His

the Revolution, by printing several single sermons of the most eminent preachers of that time, many of them  
 against Popery, on vile paper and print, for pence a piece, to the great comfort and convenience of minute  
 divines in country churches. Dr. Taylor late Chancellor of Lincoln, in the poetical part of his music-  
 speech, delivered at the public commencement at Cambridge, in 1730, has the following couplet :

Then moulds his scanty Latin and less Greek,  
 And *Harry Hills* his parish once a week.

\* We are uncertain what became of Mr. Wagstaffe, who published the *Vindication of King Charles the  
 Martyr*, &c. the third edition of which appeared in 1711. We have been informed, that he attached him-  
 self to the old pretender, in quality of chaplain to his protestant non-juring adherents. We suppose it was  
 his son who officiated in that capacity at the Santi Apostoli, and died at Rome about 1774 or 1775. This  
 latter had so warm a zeal for orthodoxy, and against schismatics, that he refused, though much intreated,  
 to read the burial-service over the corpse of a Danish gentleman, a protestant, who died at Rome about the  
 year 1762 or 63, and left that office to be performed by a worthy clergyman, chaplain to an English no-  
 bleman then at Rome, from whom we had this account. It is customary, when any English Protestant  
 dies at Rome, for any of his acquaintance, though a layman, of the same religion, to read the burial-ser-  
 vice over his corpse. When Wagstaffe himself died, he was carried to the unhallowed cemetery of here-  
 tics, where it was expected by the British attendants that the service would be read over the deceased by  
 his fellow loyalist Mr. Murray, his compatriot, and of the same church. The worthy old gentleman (for  
 worthy he is known to be), for some reason or other, declined the office, saying to the grave-digger, *Cover  
 him up, Cover him up*. This Mr. Wagstaffe is said to have been a man of letters, and to have left behind  
 him a collection of curious and valuable books.

† Birch, folio, p. lxxxii.

“ speech ended, he gave that small paper to the bishop of London.  
 “ After his death, the officers demanded the paper of the Bishop, who,  
 “ because of the depth of his pocket, smallness of the paper, and the  
 “ mixture of others therewith, could not so soon produce it as was  
 “ required. At last he brought it forth; but therewith the others were  
 “ unsatisfied [jealousy is quick of growth], as not the same which his  
 “ Majesty delivered unto him. When presently the soldier, whose rude-  
 “ ness [the bad cause of a good effect] had formerly over-inspected it  
 “ in the King’s hand, attested this the very same paper, and pre-  
 “ vented farther suspicions, which might have terminated to the Bishop’s  
 “ trouble \*.”

The Bishop then was no farther troubled than by the officer’s demanding this single paper. All the rest he carried off in the depth of his pocket. If any thing more troublesome had happened to the Bishop upon the occasion, Fuller would certainly have known it, and would as certainly have recorded it, for he takes him up again in his *Worthies of England*:

Other accounts say, that the Bishop afterwards retired to his own manor of Little Compton in Gloucestershire, where he sometimes rode a hunting for his health; a certain sign that he had no great molestation from the ruling party †.

Milton says, the King “ bequeathed this prayer among his deifying friends to be published by them.” And published it actually was *twice* if not *thrice*, before Milton’s Iconoclastes appeared; which, according to Wagstaffe, was not till November 7, 1649. The proper inference from which premises, compared with Fuller’s circumstantial and candid account, is, that all these prayers remained with Dr. Juxon till his communication of them to the King’s friends occasioned their being published.

The author of *Clamor Regii Sanguinis*, &c. as Englished by Wagstaffe, says, “ The Bishop being brought before the King’s judges, was  
 “ commanded by them, not without dreadful menaces, to reveal the  
 “ meaning of the word *Remember*, repeated to him twice by the King  
 “ upon the scaffold.”

\* Fuller’s Church History, p. penult.

† Wood. Athen. Ox. vol. II. p. 1145.

To this latter charge Milton replies, "I will not deny that the Bishop  
 " might be interrogated by one or other of these judges, by the way,  
 " concerning this matter ; but I do not find that he was convened on  
 " purpose by the council, or the high court of justice, as if they all  
 " of them troubled themselves about it, or were solicitous to know  
 " it \*."

From Milton's silence it might perhaps be suspected that the Bishop was under some sort of confinement, were it not that on the 7th of February we find him at full liberty, attending the King's funeral at Windsor, and standing ready with a Common-prayer-book to read the burial-office over the royal corpse \*.

But what is beyond a thousand surmises, accumulated by Wagstaffe and others, to prove Milton's first publishing this prayer as selected by King Charles, for his own use, is the dead silence of Bp. Juxon from this period to the time of his death. If his timidity during the Interregnum prevailed with him to conceal the forgery, his fears must be at an end at the Restoration. The prayer had been published as King Charles's over and over during that interval; Milton's reproach was equally and repeatedly made public. Yet this worthy Bishop suffers this prayer to be published in a collection of King Charles's works in the year 1662, without giving the least hint of the forgery, imputed afterwards to Milton and Bradshaw.

Let Dr. Johnson then make what he can of the *adaptation* of this prayer to the case of king Charles ; but let not his splenetic prejudice against Milton associate him with such a driveling crew, such a despicable groupe of knights of the post, as would persuade the world that Milton wanted the aid of such pitiful forgeries as they themselves occasionally practised to support the noblest of all employments, the defence of public liberty against tyrants and oppressors.

The Doctor's account of Milton's dispute with Salmasius we shall pass by, and leave his criticisms on some Latin expressions on either side to those who have not forgotten a *trade*, which, in some degree or other,

\* Defensio Secunda, p. 391. ed. 1753, Quarto.

\* Biographia Britannica, Juxon, Rem. [C.]



is, or should be, original to every good writer, namely, the *trade of a Grammarian*. No man has exercised this trade with more emolument than Dr. Johnson, would he allow us to say, that in his political pamphlets “the rights of nations and kings sink into a laborious solicitude “for the choice of words and modes of expression.”

Milton’s answer to Salmasius was much read, and it is no disparagement to his arguments that they appeared bad to a man of Hobbes’s principles, or paradoxical in Dr. Johnson’s ideas\*.

But, however, the Doctor thought himself obliged to account for this depravity of taste in the numerous readers of Milton’s defense, which he does in this way:

“Paradox,” says our Biographer, “recommended by spirit and elegance, easily gains attention; and he who told every man that he was equal to his King, could hardly want an audience\*.”

The paradox then is *that every man is equal to his King*. But where has Milton told this? or is it to Dr. Johnson’s misapprehension of Milton’s state of the case, or to his propensity to calumniate, that we owe this false and rancorous insinuation?

That every man is not equal, but superior, to his *Tyrant*, is a proposition which has been demonstrated over and over, before Milton was born; and if Milton espoused it, and made it better understood by a notorious example, he served his generation in a most material article of their social happiness. The next generation had the spirit and good sense to profit by his doctrine; and by virtue of it drove their Tyrant into an ignominious exile.

Milton’s attachment to Cromwell has been imputed to him as a blot in his character long before it was taken up by Dr. Johnson; who, to give him his due, has made the most of it in a small compass.

“Milton,” says he, “having tasted the honey of public employment, would not return to hunger and philosophy, but, continuing to exercise his office under a manifest usurpation, betrayed to his power that liberty which he had defended.”

\* Life, p. 56.

It is hardly necessary to apprise a reader of Milton's prose-works that his ideas of *usurpation* and *public liberty* were very different from those of Dr. Johnson. In the Doctor's system of government public liberty is the *free grace* of an *hereditary* monarch, and limited, in kind and degree, by his gracious will and pleasure; and consequently to controul his arbitrary acts by the interposition of good and wholesome laws is a *manifest usurpation* upon his prerogative. Milton allotted to the people a considerable and important share in political government, founded upon original stipulations for the rights and privileges of free subjects, and called the monarch who should infringe or encroach upon these, however qualified by lineal succession, a tyrant and an usurper, and freely consigned him to the vengeance of an injured people. Upon Johnson's plan, there can be no such thing as public liberty. Upon Milton's, where the laws are duly executed, and the people protected in the peaceable and legal enjoyment of their lives, properties, and municipal rights and privileges, there can be no such thing as *usurpation*, in whose hands soever the executive power should be lodged. From this doctrine Milton never swerved; and in that noble apostrophe to Cromwell, in his Second Defense of the people of England, he spares not to remind him, what a wretch and a villain he would be, should he invade those liberties which his valour and magnanimity had restored. If after this, Milton's employers deviated from *his* idea of their duty, be it remembered, that he was neither in their secrets, nor an instrument in their arbitrary acts or encroachments on the legal rights of the subject; many (perhaps the most) of which, were to be justified by the necessity of the times, and the malignant attempts of those who laboured to restore that wicked race of despotic rulers, the individuals of which had uniformly professed an utter enmity to the claims of a free people, and had acted accordingly, in perfect conformity to Dr. Johnson's political creed. On another hand, be it observed, that in those State-letters, latinized by Milton, which remain, and in those particularly written in the name of the Protector Oliver, the strictest attention is paid to the dignity and importance of the British nation, to the protection of trade, and the Protestant religion, by spirited expostula-

tions with foreign powers on any infraction of former treaties, in a style of steady determination, of which there have been few examples in subsequent times. A certain sign in what esteem the British government was held at that period by all the other powers of Europe. And as this was the only province in which Milton acted under that government which Dr. Johnson calls an usurpation, let his services be compared with those performed by Dr. Johnson for his present patrons; and let the constitutional subject of the British empire judge which of them better deserves the appellation of a traitor to public liberty, or have more righteously earned the *honey* of a pension.

The real *usurper is the wicked ruler over a poor people*, by whatever means the *power* falls into his hands. And whenever it happens that the *Imperium ad optimum quemque a minus bono transfertur*, the subject is or should be too much interested in the fact to consider any character of the rejected ruler but his vicious ambition, the violence and injustice of his counsels, and the flagitious acts by which they were executed.

These petulant reflections of the Doctor on Milton, might, many of them, easily be answered by recrimination; we have often wondered, in running over this *new narrative*, that the consciousness of the historian's heart did not disable his hand for recording several things to the reproach of Milton, which rebound with double force on his own notorious conduct. Has he always believed that the government of the House of Hanover was less an usurpation than that of Oliver Cromwell? Having tasted the honey of a pension for writing ministerial pamphlets, would he feel no regret in returning once more to hunger and philosophy?

The Doctor perhaps will tell us, that he is in no danger of starving, even though his pension should be suspended to-morrow. Be it so; and by what kind of proof will he shew that Milton had no means of earning his bread but his political employment?

Milton however made the experiment which happily Dr. Johnson has not; and that too after the Restoration; and resisted the temptations of court-favour, and the solicitations of his wife to accept of it,  
with



with a magnanimity which would do him honour with any man but the author of the *new narrative*.

Milton's reason for rejecting this offer was, that "his wish was to live and die an honest man." But, says the Doctor, "If he considered the Latin Secretary as exercising any of the powers of government, he that had shared authority, either with the parliament or Cromwell, might have forborn to talk very loudly of his honesty," p. 91.

The venom of this remark happens to be too weak to do any mischief. Casuists of all sects and complexions have done justice to the honesty of men who adhered to their principles and persuasions, though they might judge wrong in the choice of them.

He goes on, "And if he thought the office ministerial only, he certainly might have *honestly* retained it under the King." Not quite so *certainly*. But Milton's and Dr. Johnson's notions of *honesty* are so widely different, that we cannot admit the Doctor to estimate Milton's honesty by his own scale. In the end, however, he questions the fact.

"But this tale has too little evidence to deserve a disquisition: large offers and sturdy rejections are among the most common topicks of falsehood." That is, in plain unaffected English, "No man could ever reject a large offer, though on conditions ever so repugnant to his professed principles." But the Doctor is but an individual, and his experience from his own particular case will not be admitted as the standard of other mens integrity; and yet this is the only reason he gives for rejecting this anecdote, so honourable to Milton.

Milton's attachment to Cromwell was evidently founded on different considerations. The narrowness of the Presbyterians in their notions of Liberty, and particularly of religious liberty, had appeared upon many occasions. He more than hints, in his *Arcopagitica*, their inclination to govern by the episcopal and oppressive maxims of the Stuart race. He saw and abhorred their attempts to shackle the faith of Protestants and Christians in the bonds of systems, confessions, tests, and subscriptions.

Cromwell's-

Cromwell's plan was of a more generous complexion ; and Milton's Sonnet, addressed to him \*, was evidently a compliment founded on the expectation that he would lay the ground-work of a free toleration in matters of religion, without which he saw (what Dr. Johnson never will see) that civil liberty can never be established upon its proper basis. Milton's adherence to Cromwell, therefore, was founded on the most liberal views, and while there was a prospect of realizing the idea, was certainly irreprehensible.

Dr. Johnson however, in spite of every proof, and every presumption to the contrary, will have Milton's agency in political matters to have been considered as of great importance.

" When a treaty," says the Doctor, " with Sweden was artfully suspended, the delay was publicly imputed to Mr. Milton's indisposition ; and the Swedish agent was provoked to express his wonder, that only one man in England could write Latin, and that man blind †."

But Whitelock, who was a principal hand in negotiating this treaty, instead of pleading Milton's indisposition for the delay, only says, " the employment of Mr. Milton [to translate the treaty] " was excused to him" [the Swedish ambassador] " because several other servants of the council, fit for that employment, were then absent." Here then the narrative is absolutely *new*, both with respect to the importance of Milton's agency, and the reason given of the delay.

\* TO O. CROMWELL.

CROMWELL, our Chief of Men, that through a crowd,  
Not of war only, but distractions rude,  
(Guided by Faith and matchless Fortitude)  
To Peace and Truth thy glorious way hast plow'd,  
And fought God's battles, and his works purtu'd,  
While Darwent streams with blood of Scots imbru'd,  
And Dunbar field resound thy praises loud,  
And Worcester's laureat wreath. Yet much remains  
To conquer still: Peace has her victories  
No less than those of War. New foes arise,  
Threat'ning to bind our Souls in secular chains:  
Help us to save free conscience from the paw  
Of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw.

‡ Milton's Life, p. 68.

It

It is remarkable, that, in depreciating such of Milton's writings as thwart Dr. Johnson's political notions, the censure is always accompanied with some evil imputation upon the writer's head or his heart. He observes of his serious tracts in general, that *Hell grows darker at his frown*, borrowing, to make his abuse more tasty, an expression from Milton himself. In his treatises of *civil power in ecclesiastical cases*, and of *the means of removing hirelings out of the church*, "He gratified his malevolence to the clergy." In writing his pamphlet called, *A ready and easy way to establish a free commonwealth*, "He was fantastical enough to think, that the nation, agitated as it was, might be settled by it;" and his notes upon a sermon of Dr. Griffiths, "were foolish, and the effect of *kicking* when he could not *strike*."

If controversial fame were thus to be purchased, Dr. Johnson might be esteemed the first of writers in that province, for no man ever expressed his abuse in a more inimitable style of abuse. And though he may sometimes create suspicions that he has either never read, or does not understand, the writings he so peremptorily censures; yet the vehicle is pleasing, and the reputation he has gained by his labours of more general utility precludes all examination, and he expects his scandalous chronicle should be licensed and received upon his own bare word.

"For Milton to complain of evil tongues," says the Doctor, "required impudence at least equal to his other powers; Milton, whose warmest advocates must allow, that he never spared any asperity of reproach, or brutality of insolence."

Milton wrote in a public contest for public liberty: and he generally in that contest was upon the *defensive*. The asperity of his reproaches seldom exceeded the asperity of the wickedness upon which those reproaches were bestowed.

*Brutality* is a word of an ill sound, and required some instances to justify the imputation of it. When these are given, we will readily join issue in the trial, whether Milton or his adversaries were the more brutal or more insolent. They who would reduce mankind to a *brutal* slavery, under the despotism of a lawless tyrant, forfeit all claim to the  
rationality



rationality of human beings; and no tongue can be called *evil* for giving them their proper appellation.

Neither Dr. Johnson nor we can pretend, at this distance of time, to assign the precise causes of Milton's complaint. Evil tongues are common in all times; our histories inform us, that the times of Charles II. were not *good*. Milton perhaps is not unhappy in being out of the reach of the present times; but whether he is, even in the present times, out of the reach of evil tongues, let the readers of the *New Narrative* candidly judge.

Impudence is an attribute with which our Biographer hath qualified Milton more than once; and it seems to have shocked the *modesty* of Dr. Johnson that a blemish of that kind should deform the character of his hero.

*Parcius ista*, good Doctor! *Noximus et qui te*—But Churchill and Kenrick are no more, and the Doctor may easily annihilate their authority by writing *new narratives* of what they were.

There is however, it seems, one of Milton's prose-tracts, in which the Doctor finds *no impudence*; it is his treatise of *True Religion, heresy, schism, toleration, and the best means to prevent the growth of popery*.

"This little tract," says he, "is *modestly* written, with respectful mention of the Church of England and the thirty-nine articles."

True, so far as the Church of England declares against Popery. But, unhappily for this *respect*, Milton brings these declarations in reproof of the church's practice; and most ably confutes the pretence of the Church of England, "that she only enjoins things indifferent." And even this he calls persecution.

"If it be asked," says Milton, "how far it should be tolerated? I answer, doubtless equally, as being all Protestants; that is, on all occasions to give account of their faith, either by arguing, preaching in their several assemblies, public writing, and the freedom of printing."

If such toleration should have its free course, unrestrained by canons, subscriptions, and uniformity-acts, unallured by temporal emoluments, and unterrified by temporal censures, there must of course be an end of the civil Establishment of the Church of England; which is here as  
effec-

effectually condemned, as it is in those former tracts of the author's in which he is so severe on prelatical usurpations. The only difference is, that there, in the Doctor's account, he is impudent, and here he is modest.

"Fortune," says the Doctor, "appears not to have had much of Milton's care \*." How is this character supported by the instances that follow, consistently with the account above given, that Milton, "having tasted the honey of public employment, *would not return to hunger and philosophy?*"

"There is yet no reason to believe that he was ever reduced to indigence†;" and we will add, "nor to the prospect of it;" for what the Doctor says, that he was "given up to poverty and hopeless indignation," upon his soliciting the repayment of his loan to the parliament in vain, only serves to shew how dextrously the Doctor can fill up the chasms of authentic history by the fertility of his imagination. And that "his wants being few were competently supplied," is an argument that he could as easily return to his philosophy as part with his affluence.

From this character of Milton the Doctor would shrink if he could, and put down the merit of it among the *topics of falsehood*; but his draw-backs upon it only end in furnishes palpably inconsistent with that unabated constancy of mind in Milton, which even the *new narrative* could not disguise; an observation which belongs to more articles of this remarkable composition than this before us.

The Doctor's next debate with himself is concerning Milton's religion. The appearances in this part of Milton's history puzzled Mr. Peck before him, who, after decently drawing the saw to and again, fixes Milton in Quakerism.

Dr. Johnson seems to think he was of no church, merely, as it should seem, because he was neither of the Church of Rome, nor of the Church of England.

If not, to what purpose is the following reflection?

"To be of no church is dangerous. Religion, of which the rewards are distant, and which is animated only by faith and hope, will

\* Milton's Life, p. 137.

† Ibid. p. 136.

“ glide by degrees out of the mind, unless it be invigorated and re-  
 “ impressed by external ordinances, by stated calls to worship, and the  
 “ salutary influence of example \*.”

The mere cant of every popish formalist who sets himself to shew that images are the books of the ignorant; and that without them the common people can have no religion.

We cannot admit even Dr. Johnson's experience to decide this matter for us; who indeed hath immediately destroyed his own hypothesis, by acknowledging that Milton, who associated with no particular church, “ appears to have had full conviction of the truth of Christianity; to  
 “ have regarded the holy scriptures with the profoundest veneration; to  
 “ to have been untainted with any heretical peculiarity of opinion; to  
 “ and to have lived in a confirmed belief of the immediate and occa-  
 “ sional agency of Providence.”

“ And yet, he grew old without any *visible* worship.” Does it follow from hence, that Milton grew old without any worship at all?

Yes, truly, such is the conclusion. “ In the distribution of his hours,  
 “ there was no hour of prayer either solitary or with his household;  
 “ omitting public prayer, he omitted all.” And then he proceeds to account for it.

But these particulars, wherever the Doctor got them, must have come from persons who had no more honest business in John Milton's closet than Dr. Johnson himself, who never came there, nor can possibly know what was done, or what was omitted in it. If “ his studies and  
 “ meditations were an habitual prayer,” what occasion had he for a stated hour, which, being a circumstance in the *visible* worship of a private man, may as soon be a token of pharisaical ostentation or popish superstition as of cordial piety.

Nor perhaps would Milton have accepted of Dr. Johnson's apology for his omission of family worship, or have acknowledged it to be a fault. Milton perhaps might think it sufficient to teach his family to pray for themselves; *every one as he or she should know the plague of his or her own heart*. Milton had doubtless known, by experience, how incongruous it was to trust his own prayers to the mouth of another

\* Life, p. 146.



man; and he might think it equally improper in him to dictate to the individuals of his family prayers unsuitable, for aught he could know without auricular confession, to their several cases.

All this however is mere speculation on one side and the other. We learn from a tale of Richardson's, that one of his family at least attended public worship; and more of them might for any thing the Doctor knows to the contrary.

The Doctor next attacks Milton's political character.

"His political notions were those of an acrimonious and furly republican."

When an honest man has occasion to characterise his enemy, particularly in matters of opinion, he should keep a strict watch over himself, that his prejudices do not transport him to imputations which are either false, or may be retorted upon himself.

The world would have given Dr. Johnson credit for his inveterate hatred of republican notions, without his qualifying them with the epithets of *acrimonious* and *furly* as exhibited by Milton, whose defenders might, with equal justice at least, call him an *acrimonious and furly Royalist*.

But was Dr. Johnson's quarrel with Milton's notions merely that they were republican, that is to say, notions adverse to kingly government? Hath he *always* revered kings as such, kings *de facto*, or kings only so and so qualified?

We confess ourselves to be of that class of men who are willing to receive instruction from all quarters; and the news-paper of the day being just brought in, we learn, from an extract in it from Dr. Johnson's life of Smith, that Gilbert Walmfley was a Whig with all the virulence and malevolence of his party, and that the Doctor was of different notions and opinions\*.

But we are well informed, that Mr. Walmfley was no republican, but strongly attached in principle to the succession of the House of Hanover. If for this attachment he was, in Dr. Johnson's esteem, a virulent and malevolent Whig, we should be glad to know what pre-

\* St. James's Chronicle, July 31, 1779.

cisely are those notions and opinions wherein he differed from his friend Walmfley? Perhaps at the bottom the grudge is no more than that neither Milton nor Walmfley would allow Dr. Johnson to chuse a King for them.

"It is not known," says the Doctor, "that Milton gave any better reason [for his republican notions] than that *a popular government was the most frugal; for that the trappings of a monarchy would set up an ordinary Commonwealth* \*."

In the *Εἰκὼν βασιλική* King Charles says, or is made to say, "that Kings are the greatest patrons of law, justice, order, and religion, on earth."

To this Milton replies, "What patrons they be God in scripture oft enough hath exprest; and the earth itself hath too long groaned under the burden of their injustice, disorder, and irreligion †."

A plain man would think this a better reason, if true, for a republican government, than merely the expence of monarchy. But let the Biographer have his way.

"It is surely a very narrow policy that supposes money to be the chief good." But it is as surely asserted by us, that no *modest* man can find any such position in all Milton's works. The political maxim, that money is *not* the chiefest good, would stand with a much fairer face in the tract intituled, "Taxation no Tyranny," in order to prevail with the people to bleed freely, and submit chearfully to the pecuniary demands of the ministry; for that the expence of a court is for the most part only a particular kind of traffick, by which money is circulated without any national impoverishment."

Tritical aphorisms should be universally and unequivocally true, unlimited by such insertions, as, *for the most part*. The expence of a court is an expression relative to a thousand articles beyond what Milton called the trappings of a monarchy. Admit that a traffic, not detrimental to the nation, might be carried on with those who furnish the articles comprehended in what is called the civil list, yet are those articles all traffic which comes within the description of the "expence of a

\* Life, p. 143.

† Iconoclastes, chap. xxviii.

"court?"

“court?” Have we not heard, some centuries ago, of trafficking with court money and court honey, for courtly votes, and courtly essays, to countenance and abet courtly encroachments; wherein a reciprocation of profit is stipulated upon the evangelical terms of *Give, and it shall be given unto you?*

In the common estimation of the world individuals are impoverished by their debts, and it would be strange if national debt should have no tendency to national poverty; and it would be still stranger, if, when the account of our own debts come to be audited, no part of them should appear to have been contracted by the *expence of a court*.

Dr. Johnson is afraid that Milton’s republicanism was founded “in an envious hatred of greatness, and a fullen desire of independence; in petulance, impatient of controul; and pride, disdainful of superiority. He hated monarchs in the state, and prelates in the church; for he hated all whom he was required to obey. It is to be suspected, that his predominant desire was to destroy, rather than to establish, and that he felt not so much the love of liberty, as repugnance to authority.”

Great is the witchcraft of words, and it prevaieth! How many readers will be imposed upon by this unmanly abuse of Milton, who will never consider that the following character is at least equally true of his calumniator.

“It is to be feared that ——’s loyalty was founded on an idolatrous veneration of greatness, and an abject fondness for dependence; in sycophantry, impatient of hunger and philosophy, and in a mean-ness disdainful of no lucrative drudgery. He loved Kings in the state, because he loved all who paid him for his services; and Bishops in the church, from a consciousness of wanting absolution. It is to be suspected, that his predominant desire was, to destroy public liberty, rather than to establish legal authority, and that he felt not so much anxiety for the real honour of princes, as delight in the slavish humiliation of their subjects.”

Of all the writers upon political subjects, Milton left the least room for *fears* and *suspensions*. He is open and explicit in all his reproofs of lawless power and oppression, civil and ecclesiastical. Envy at great-  
ness



ness and superiority in Milton's situation, would necessarily have implied his constant endeavour to attain the greatness and superiority he envied. His addresses to the Parliament are undeniable testimonies of his readiness to submit to every ordinance of man which was not a *terror to good works*; and the only difference between Milton's system of government and Dr. Johnson's is, that the former seated the laws above the King; and the latter enthrones the monarch above the laws.

Some portions of common sense however are yet left among us. Witness the following remark, transcribed from the news-paper above cited.

“ With what *emphasis* do ministers and men in power pronounce the words SERVICE and OBEY! and how great and respectable do they think themselves when they say, THE KING MY MASTER! They despise the republicans, who only are free, and who are certainly more noble than they.”

In conclusion, the good Doctor turns evesdropper; and, to warn the public against the principles of the miscreant Milton, condescends to inform us of what passed in the domestic privacies of his family. “ Milton's character, in his domestic relations, was severe and arbitrary.” How does he know this? “ His family consisted of women,” he tells you, “ and there appears, in his books, something like a Turkish contempt of females, as subordinate and inferior beings.” A most heinous offence! enough to muster the whole multitude of English Amazons against him. But the question is not concerning what is in his books, but what passed in his kitchen and parlour. We want instances; and here they are: “ That his own daughters might not break the ranks, he suffered them to be depressed by a mean and penurious education.”

The impudence of Belial would be abashed at so gross a misrepresentation. Milton's daughters grew impatient of reading what they did not understand; this impatience “ broke out more and more into expressions of uneasiness.” What had they now to expect from their Turkish father? what! but stripes and imprisonment in a dark chamber, and a daily pittance of bread and water. No such matter. They were

were relieved from their task, and “sent out to learn some curious and ingenious sorts of manufacture, that were proper for women to learn, particularly imbroideries in gold and silver.” And how far this branch of education was from being either mean or penurious in those days, the remains of these curious and ingenious works, performed by accomplished females of the highest and noblest extraction, testify to this very day.

To account for this tyranny of Milton over his females, the Doctor says, “He thought woman made only for obedience, and man only for rebellion †.”

In the first member of this quaint antithesis the Doctor perhaps did not guess far amiss at Milton’s *thought*. He seems to have been of St. Paul’s opinion, that “women were made for obedience.” But Paul and Milton had different ideas of rebellion from those of Dr. Johnson. That Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, were *rebels* in Dr. Johnson’s scale, no one can doubt. And yet they had certainly an equal right to insist upon the privileges of Englishmen against Dr. Laud and his assessors, as Paul had to plead those of a Roman citizen against the chief captain Lyfias; and even to require that the said Archbishop should repair to the several prisons of these sufferers to ask their pardon, and to conduct them in person and with honour out of their confinement; as was done in the case of Paul and Silas, by the magistrates of Philippi; who (however the Biographer may stomach the idea of such a humiliation of this magnanimous prelate) seem to have understood the honour due to the laws of their country, and the rights of free citizens, something better than either Abp. Laud or Dr. Johnson.

But, after all, would Dr. Johnson lead us to the converse of the sentiment he ascribes to Milton, as a tenet of his own orthodoxy? What his family connexions with females may be we profess not to know; but we cannot believe that he is so far in love with petticoat-government, as to subscribe to the proposition, that “men are made only for obedience, and women only for rebellion.”

But here we take our leave of his *new narrative*; leaving his strictures on Milton’s poetry to the examination of critics by profession; all

\* Philips, p. xliii.

† Life, p. 14.

of whom, we are persuaded, will not approve them merely because they came from Dr. Johnson. They will observe that they are tainted throughout with the effects of an inveterate hatred to Milton's politics, with which, as the Biographer of a Poet the author of *Paradise Lost*, the Critic had very little to do.

His comparison of Shakespeare and Milton, in his poetical scale, is with respect to their capital performances contemptibly childish. Homer did not, perhaps could not, write like Aristophanes: what then? does that detract from the merit of Homer in his peculiar walk? "But Shakespeare could have wrote [*lege* written] like Milton." Perhaps not. At least it is more than Dr. Johnson knew, or could prove, for want of instances whereon to found his comparison.

There is a line indeed in which they may be compared; they both wrote sonnets, and little detached pieces of poetry. Few of Milton's escape without some mark of Dr. Johnson's scorn or execration. Might not a like-minded critic or caviller carp at some of Shakespeare's performances of this class with equal justice and equal malignity? And where does all this end? Why Shakespeare was the abler and more gentleman-like punster of the two!

We should perhaps be degraded into the class of such cavillers should we express our dislike of Dr. Johnson's style; but candor itself must allow that there are periods in it which require to be translated into intelligible English, even where the sentiment is trivial enough for the conception of an honest John Trot.

For example: "But the reputation and price of the copy still advanced, till the Revolution put an end to *the secrecy of love*, and *Paradise Lost* broke into open view with *sufficient security of kind reception* \*."

Many more instances might be given from this *new narrative*, where the quaintness of the antithesis, as here, borders upon the burlesque; and we are too often put in mind, by Dr. Johnson's style, of what we remember a worthy Oxford tutor said to his pupils of the style of *Seed's Sermons*: "*Boys will imitate it; and boys will be spoiled by imitating it.*"

\* Life, p. 119.



Let Dr. Johnson however enjoy his reputation of fine writing, and the praises of his admirers, even to adulation. But let him and them remember and remark, that no sublimity of style, no accuracy of expression, can ennoble the meanness, or atone for the virulent malignity of his political resentment against Milton, exhibited in this NEW NARRATIVE.

#### P O S T S C R I P T.

A certain foreign antiquary, having occasion to describe a medal of Milton among those of other learned men, gives the following character of the man and his writings:

JOANNES MILTON Anglicus Londinensis, ejus nominis patre catholico natus, anno 1608. ab cujus pietate, ac fide quam longissime recessit, sectas omnes æternæ consequendæ salutis aptas putans, excepta Catholica Romana, ut aperte asseruit in impio suo *de vera religione* libro; optimis litteris doctrinaque imbutus, iis abusus est plerumque detestabilia feditiosaque scribendo, violenterque, atque inurbane prorsus, quæ semel conscripserat adversus meliora sentientes defendendo; absolutam; nullisque divinis, vel humanis legibus circumscriptam libertatem in votis habuisse passim deprehenditur; malus christianus, malus civis, bonus tamen poeta fuit; carminibus Anglicis, Latinis et Italicis feliciter usus; ejus Poema, cui titulum fecit *Il Paradiso perduto*, quodque Thusco nostro soluto versu transtulit Rollius, ingenti Eruditorum plausu exceptum est, proque eo elegans numisma cum effigie Miltoni cufit Joannes Daffierius, habens ab opposito protoparentum seductionem, ac expulsionem, cum epigraphe:

DIRA DVLCE CANIT ALTER HOMERVS.

Nemo pejus unquam adversus regiam potestatem majestatemque calumniæ acuit\*.

Dr. Johnson's motives for characterising Milton in his *new narrative* seem to have been much of a sort with those of this Peter Anthony, with this difference, that the abuse bestowed upon the bard by the latter seems to have been more a matter of necessity.

\* Museum Mozzuchellianum seu Numismata virorum doctrina præstantium—a Petro Antonio de comitibus gaetanis Briziano Presbytero illustrata. 1763.

A priest of the church of Rome would certainly consider, that an elogium upon Milton's poetical merit, delivered without a severe censure of his uncatholic opinions, might expose him to some untoward suspicions of his own heterodoxy among his superiors.

One would indeed imagine that a Protestant writer of the Life of Milton the Poet, could have no such temptation to deal out invectives against his speculative opinions. And yet we have instances where an inbred zeal for a particular opinion, would operate with equal virulence upon a protestant as upon a popish bigot. For example, in the article of *truth*, it is just as credible, that Sir Christopher Milton adhered to the party of Charles I. in obedience to the laws of his country, as that his brother John revolted from the piety and faith of his father.

On another hand, that Dr. Johnson was as much scandalized at the *impiety* of Milton's political sentiments, as Father Anthony was at his heretical pravity, cannot be doubted. Perhaps too the Doctor had his superiors to please, as well as the priest; and they ought to do him the justice to acknowledge, that he hath done his duty in characterizing Milton, with a petulance and malignity that would not have misbecome the superstitious bigotry of a monk in a cloyster.

The Doctor, in speculating upon Dryden's perversion to popery, and (as one of the Reviewers of his prefaces expresses it) "attempting ingeniously to extenuate it," concludes that, *Enquiries into the heart are not for man.*

No truly, not when Dryden's apostacy is to be *extenuated*, but when poor Milton's sins are to be *ingeniously* aggravated, no Spanish Inquisitor more sharp-sighted to discern the devil playing his pranks in the heart of the poor culprit, or more ready to conduct him to an *auto de fe*.

In Dryden's case, the presumption is, that "a comprehensive is likewise an elevated soul, and that whoever is wise, is likewise honest." But if it is *natural* to hope this, why not hope it of Milton, as well as of Dryden? Where is the competent impartial judge who will admit, that Milton's soul was less comprehensive or less elevated than the soul of Dryden?

But what occasion for all this grimace in accounting for Dryden's transition from what he did or did not profess, to the church of Rome?

Dr.

Dr. Johnson ought to have been satisfied with Dryden's own account in his tale of the Hind and the Panther; the rather, as he there seems to have verified by experience Dr. Johnson's maxim, that "he that is of no church can have no religion." He frankly confesses, that having no steady principle of religion in his youth, or even in his maturer years, he finally set up his rest in the church of Rome: and indeed if the essentials of religion consist in the trappings of a church, he could not have made a better choice\*.

Dryden was reprehensible even to infamy for his own vices, and the licentious encouragement he gave in his writings to those of others. But he wrote an antirepublican poem called *Abraham and Achitophel*; and Dr. Johnson, a man of high pretensions to moral character, calls him a wise and an honest man. Milton was a man of the chastest manners, both in his conversation and his writings. But he wrote *Iconoclastes*, and in the same Dr. Johnson's esteem was both a knave and a fool.

The church of Rome substitutes orthodoxy for every virtue under heaven. And loyalty among the high Royalists canonizes every rascal and profligate with a full and plenary absolution. These are, it is true, among the vilest and meanest partialities of the despotic faction; and Dr. Johnson, conscious of his merit in other departments, should blush, and be humbled, to be found in the list of such misers.

We have lately met with a pleasant piece of vengeance taken of Milton by a poor fellow who had suffered under his lash for conveying into the world, Morus's, or rather Du Moulin's, "*Clamor Regii Sanguinis*."

Just before the Restoration, Robert Creighton, chaplain to Charles II. and his attendant in his exile, a man of learning, procured a handsome and valuable edition of Sylvester Sguropulus's History of the council of Florence, in Greek. The printer of it was Adrian Vlacq, of the Hague, who yet smarted from the stripes inflicted upon him by Milton some years before. Adrian now thought he had a fine opportunity of taking his amends. For this purpose he prevailed with

\* Bishop Burnet, speaking of Dryden's conversion, says, "If his grace and his wit improve both proportionably, we shall hardly find that he hath gained much by the change he has made, from having no religion to chuse one of the worst." *Reply to Mr. Varillas*, p. 139.



Creyghton to characterize Milton in the preface to his book, but without naming him, lest both the editor and the printer should suffer for their temerity, the Restoration being yet in embryo. Some of his rhetoric we shall transcribe.

“Nec suis unquam parasitis indiguit fanaticum illud genus hominum, qui exitiali facundia armati semper in procinctu stant, et quæ jubentur, linguas venales flectunt, eorum turpissima crimina ut virtutes collaudant, aliorum omnium dotes dente satyrico perfodiunt, et in Deum ipsum, *si senatus perduellis mandaverit*, profanæ eloquentiæ arietes admovere non erubescunt.”

And again,

“Regicidium commendant posteris, ut Heroici facinoris exemplum singulare. Eversionem ecclesiæ, extirpationem regni, regique sanguinis, inter facta fortissima numerant.”

Again, speaking of the style of the writers on the side of the parliament, he says :

“Qui fructum cum semine conferre vellet fatius multo judicaret ad rudem illam, sed honestam Latine orationis balbutiem (monkish Latin) revertere quam sic in Marci Tullii ac Titi Livii viridariis expatiari, pollucibiliter mentiri, &c.”

And lastly,

“Tum de Regibus, si quis forte fortuna encomiastice scripserit, fuculentent, frendunt, debacchantur, et in omne latus obstreperam volunt facundiam, ne quis Rex pro pio habeatur, quando ipsi in omnium Regum sacrosancta capita tam impii [i. impie] detonuerunt.”

The allusion here to Milton and his works could not have been plain-er, without naming him. The Prefacer well knew Milton's zeal for his cause, and his abilities in defending it. He knew not but he might yet be disposed to do himself and his party justice at his [Creyghton's] expence, and he chose therefore, both for the poor printer's sake and his own, to make the abuse general, that he might have room to say, that Milton was not the man he meant, though the two last citations would not apply to any other man that then was, or ever had been, upon the face of the earth. Such was the terror that Milton's name struck into the hearts of his opponents, even when his party was rapidly approaching their final dissolution.

*The*

The following Proclamation, being a great curiosity, is thought proper to be here annexed.

By the King.

# A P R O C L A M A T I O N,

For calling in and suppressing of two books written by John Milton; the one, intituled, *Johannis Miltoni Angli pro Populo Anglicano Defensio, contra Claudii Anonymi alias Salmafii, Defensionem Regiam*; and the other in answer to a book intituled, *The Pourtraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings*. And also a third book intituled, *The Obstructors of Justice*, written by John Goodwin.

C H A R L E S R.

Whereas John Milton, late of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, hath published in print two several books, the one intituled, *Johannis Miltoni Angli pro Populo Anglicano Defensio, contra Claudii Anonymi, alias Salmafii, Defensionem Regiam*. And the other in answer to a book intituled, *The Pourtraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings*. In both which are contained fundry treasonable passages against us and our government, and most impious endeavours to justify the horrid and unmatched murder of our late dear father of glorious memory.

And whereas John Goodwin, late of Coleman-street, London, clerk, hath also published in print, a book intituled, *The Obstructors of Justice*, written in defiance of his said late majesty. And whereas the said John Milton and John Goodwin are both fled, or so obscure themselves, that no endeavors used for their apprehension can take effect, whereby they might be brought to legal tryal, and deservedly receive condign punishment for their treasons, and offences.

Now to the end that our good subjects may not be corrupted in their judgements, with such wicked and traitrous principles as are dispersed and scattered throughout the before-mentioned books, we, upon the motion of the commons in parliament now assembled, doe hereby freighely charge and command, all and every person and persons whatsoever,

soever, who live in any city, burrough, or town incorporate, within this our kingdom of England, the dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, in whose hands any of those books are, or hereafter shall be, that they, upon pain of our high displeasure, and the consequence thereof, do forthwith, upon publication of this our command, or within ten days immediately following, deliver, or cause the same to be delivered to the mayor, bayliffs, or other chief officer or magistrate, in any of the said cities, burroughs, or towns incorporate, where such person or persons so live; or, if living out of any city, burrough, or town incorporate, then to the next justice of peace adjoining to his or their dwelling or place of abode; or if living in either of our universities, then to the vicechancellor of that university where he or they do reside.

And in default of such voluntary delivery, which we do expect in observance of our said command, that then and after the time before limited, expired, the said chief magistrate of all and every the said cities, burroughs, or towns incorporate, the justices of the peace in their several counties, and the vicechancellors of our said universities respectively, are hereby commanded to seize and take, all and every the books aforesaid, in whose hands or possession soever they shall be found, and certify the names of the offenders into our privy council.

And we do hereby also give special charge and command to the said chief magistrates, justices of the peace, and vicechancellors respectively, that they cause the said books which shall be so brought unto any of their hands, or seized or taken as aforesaid, by vertue of this our proclamation, to be delivered to the respective sheriffs of those counties where they respectively live, the first and next assizes that shall after happen. And the said sheriffs are hereby also required, in time of holding such assizes, to cause the same to be publicly burnt by the hand of the common hangman.

And we do further streightly charge and command, that no man hereafter presume to print, vend, sell, or disperse, any the aforesaid books, upon pain of our heavy displeasure, and of such further punishment, as for their presumption in that behalf may any way be inflicted upon them by the laws of this realm.

Given at our court at Whitehall, the 13th day of August, in the twelfth year of our reign, 1660.



*Addition to the Postscript.*

—Such was the awe that MILTON's name struck into the hearts of his opponents, even when his party was rapidly approaching its final dissolution.

But to return once more to the *New Narrative*. To defend injured characters is seasonable at all times. Some former accounts of Milton, Dr. Johnson treats with contradiction and contempt, where neither the information, nor the good faith of the writers, are more to be suspected than his own.

A large majority of authors are too inconsiderable to have their lives and adventures recorded for the instruction or amusement of posterity, even in the summary of a biographical dictionary. Dr. Johnson is not one of these insignificants. The public, when he hath ceased to act his part on this earthly stage, will be impatiently inquisitive after the personal history of a man, who hath figured so variously in the wide range of authorship; and when his panegyrists have exhausted every topic of praise and adulation to grace his monument, among those of the worthies of antient days, *Somebody* may take a fancy to gratify the public with a *new narrative* of his progress and employments in life.

*That* SOMEBODY may be a true constitutional friend to the civil and religious liberties of Englishmen, and disposed to try what figure Dr. Johnson's political maxims and conduct will make, in contrast with such parts of Milton's history and principles as he hath attempted to disparage by the most inveterate insinuations.

A man of genius and erudition cannot more effectually disgrace himself, than by hiring out his talents to those vile politicians whose estimation with the public depends on ridiculing and debasing the soundest principles of free government, and on their humiliating, and, to their power, scandalising the wise and upright men who espouse them; and it is not impossible that, with such an idea of Dr. Johnson's merit, some humorous drole, surveying the superb decorations of emblematic sculpture, surrounding the commemoration of the Doctor's

vaſt exploits in Parian marble, may add, with a homely pencil of charcoal,

HERE LYES THE GRAND EXEMPLAR OF LITERARY PROSTITUTION.

And here we ſhould have ended our ſtrictures on the *new narrative*, did not the candor of a worthy friend call upon us to temper the ſeverity (as he calls it) of this monumental inſcription.

We are not deaf to the reaſonable admonitions of our friends; but unwilling to deprive our hero of his bluſhing honours, ſo hardily earned, and ſo richly deſerved, we rather chooſe to add a ſhort explanation, than to expunge a characteristic which contributes ſo much to the brilliancy of his reputation.

*Proſtitution* hath, generally ſpeaking, two principal motives, *filthy lucre*, and *inordinate appetite*. Theſe motives are frequently compounded, particularly when indigence, and a warmth of bodily conſtitution, happen to meet in the ſame individual.

Which of theſe motives had the predominant *ſtimulus* in the habit of the great *critic* in his connections with Lauder, or of the great *politician*, when,

FILMER before, SACHEVERELL in his rear\*, he ſpeculated upon *virtual representation*, *tyranny*, *taxation*, &c. in favour of a government *de facto*, which, till a certain period, he is ſaid to have held to be *de jure* an uſurpation, we ſhall not poſitively determine. This we know in common with the reſt of mankind, that ſuch ſervices have not been without conſiderable emolument; and that, on the other hand, the performance of them hath afforded to the author an opportunity of aſſwaging his itch of defaming certain friends of public liberty, with whom he could have no quarrel, but on account of their political principles and attachments.

We could add ſome remarkable inſtances from the *Life of Savage*. The embellishment of a character ſo replete with infolence, ingratitude, and criminal diſſipation, can hardly be aſcribed to motives of greater purity than the ſale of the copy, unleſs we ſhould take into

\* See an Eſſay on the King's Friends, printed for Almon, 1776, p. 19.

the account the *delicacies of friendship*, and the congenial talents of the man and his orator.

Savage was a poet, and, in his biographer's opinion, a poet above mediocrity, and not inferior in the poetical scale of Dr. Johnson to some of those whom he hath honoured with his *prefatory* narratives.

May we not then presume, that the Doctor's Life of Savage will be added to those eulogies of eminent bards which have been received by the public with so much applause, and read with so much avidity?

We would not anticipate the pleasure of his readers in observing the Doctor's improvements in political wisdom since the year 1744; we shall only give one instance of it, taken from pages 120, 121, 122, of the edition of Savage's Life that year, where there are some just, and indeed beautiful contemplations, on the rise and settlement of colonies, both in a poetical and political view.

Savage composed a poem on the subject, where, as the biographer informs us, he has laudably "asserted the natural equality of mankind, " and endeavoured to suppress that pride which inclines men to imagine " that right is the consequence of power."

The benevolent Dr. Price himself could not have advanced a doctrine more unfavourable to the palate of Dr. Johnson's friends, nor needs it much sagacity to shew how it appears in contrast with *the change which experience hath made in the Doctor's opinions* \*. The Doctor, we presume, found his account in both his opinions, and all sides ought to be satisfied.

There is indeed one performance ascribed to the pen of the Doctor, where the prostitution is of so singular a nature, that it would be difficult to select an adequate motive for it out of the mountainous heap of conjectural causes of human passions or human caprice. We allude to the speech delivered by the late unhappy Dr. William Dodd, when he was about to hear the sentence of the law pronounced upon him, in consequence of an indictment for forgery.

\* Life of Savage, p. 122.



The voice of the public has given the honour of manufacturing this speech to Dr. Johnson; and the stile and *configuration* of the speech itself confirm the imputation.

Dr. Dodd was a man of parts, a poet, and an orator. He can hardly be supposed to have suspected that the powers of his own rhetoric would be too feeble for so critical an occasion. Presence of mind he could not want to compose a speech for himself. His effusions both in prose and poetry, during the most trying moments of his confinement, prove that he did not. The naked unadorned feelings of his own mind on that awful occasion (which he could hardly convey to Dr. Johnson) would have been the most expressive of his sincerity and self-humiliation; and the most proper and effectual recommendation of his case, to the commiseration of his audience, and the merciful interposition of his judges.

An ambition to go out of the world with the applause of having made a florid speech, we cannot, with any degree of charity, impute to the unfortunate criminal. He must, in that case, have had vanity sufficient to prevent him from borrowing his materials from another.

But whatever inducements Dr. Dodd might have to solicit Dr. Johnson's aid on such an occasion, it is hardly possible to divine what could be Dr. Johnson's motive for accepting the office. A man to express the precise state of mind of another about to be destined to an ignominious death for a capital crime, should, one would imagine, have some consciousness, that he himself had incurred some guilt of the same kind; in which case his own apprehensions would furnish him with topics of deprecation, suited to the purpose of his obtaining mercy. But this, we trust, was not the case.

Was it then the vanity of shewing how far he was superior in abilities to an eminent master in his own craft of artificial composition, that prevailed with Dr. Johnson to lend his talent on so critical an occasion? Such, one might fear, was the motive, from the early and general intelligence imparted to the public, by whom this admired piece of oratory was fabricated.

Was it, lastly, the presumption that a speech composed by Dr. Johnson, and delivered by Dr. Dodd, could not fail of interesting all the world

world in favour of the prisoner, and of procuring the most powerful intercession for the unhappy criminal's life ?

Authors in the pleasing contemplation of their own powers, and in the exertion of them upon paper, may imagine strange things in their closets concerning their efficiency when they come abroad. But here, alas ! all the propriety of diction, and the beauty of colouring, were absolutely wasted upon the good sense and native integrity of the late worthy Recorder of London. He saw through the artifice. He saw no circumstance from one end of the transaction to the other to make it probable that *no fraud was intended*, nor found any weight in the *counterbalance* proposed in the pompous strains of Dr. Samuel Johnson.

But there is no end of conjectures in a case where some absurdity or other arises to disgrace every account that can be suggested of the origin of a manœuvre of which no precedent can be found, except among the works of the chaplain of Newgate.

We should indeed be inclined to call it a mere *jeu d'esprit*, in the nature of an essay of what could be said in a fictitious case, were it not utterly incredible that any one with the coolest feelings of humanity (of which we by no means suppose Dr. Johnson to be destitute) could bring himself to sport with the calamity of the unhappy criminal, without hope or prospect, or intention of relief ; a sort of prostitution for which hardly any censure can be too severe.

#### A D D E N D U M.

Mr. Boerhadem's Letter in the Gentleman's Magazine for October, 1779, concerning Dr. Johnson's narrative of Milton's omitting all acts of religious worship both in public and private, came not to our hands till it was too late to insert, in the printed *Remarks on Dr. Johnson's Life of Milton*, the thanks we think he well deserves, as an able co-operator with us in the defence of Milton. The friends of Milton are particularly obliged to him, for remarking Dr. Newton's improvement upon Toland, and Dr. Johnson's upon Newton, in their several accounts of Milton's conduct with respect to religious worship ; and we think

think it an apt illustration of Toby Smollet's story of the *three crows*. For our parts, we are of opinion, that Milton's sentiments, or the practical effects of them in matters of religion, want no vindication. As to the matter in question, we remember a passage in Robert Barclay's catechism, where the author, having cited several texts of Scripture, concludes, *Ex omnibus hisce scripturæ locis apparet, verum Dei cultum in spiritu esse; et sicut nec certo cuilibet loco, ita nec certo cuiusvis tempore limitatur*. This might be Milton's persuasion, as well as Barclay's; but no considerate man would conclude from these words that Barclay never prayed in private.

The worthy man to whose memory these papers are dedicated fell under many foolish and illiberal suspicions on account of his absenting from public worship. If any of our more ingenuous readers have been imposed upon, or influenced by such base insinuations of purblind bigotry, we may hope they will now see in some expressions of Mr. Hollis's heart-felt unaffected piety, that *pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father*, does not depend upon a man's exterior connections with any visible church or religious society, so called, whatever. And this we presume to offer as a complete apology for Milton, as well as his excellent and ever memorable disciple.



*The Blazoning of MILTON'S ARMS, which are prefixed to these REMARKS.*

“THE ARMS that John Milton did use and seal his letters with, were  
“Argent, a Spread Eagle, with two heads gules, legg'd and beak'd  
“fable.” WOOD, vol. I. Fast. 262.

These arms are engraved in Toland's Milton, vol. I. but the crest is not there as in Milton's seal.

Milton's seal, from which the arms were taken, was bought of Mr. John Payne, by T. H. for three guineas, 1761.

It is in silver; came into his possession on the death of Foster, who had married a grand daughter of Milton's.

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The dates of the original editions of MILTON'S Prose Works:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1641, Of Reformation in England.              | 1652, EIKONOKLASTHΣ. Traduite de           |
| 1641, Of Prelatical Episcopacy.               | l'Anglois sur la seconde et plus           |
| 1641, Of Church Government,                   | ample edition; et revûe par l'au-          |
| 1641, Animadversions upon the Remon-          | teur, a Londres, par Guill. Du-            |
| strants defence against Smectymnus.           | gard, imprimeur du Conseil d'E-            |
| 1642, An Apology for Smectymnus.              | tat l'An. 1652, 12mo.                      |
| 1644, Areopagitica.                           | 1649, The Tenure of Kings.                 |
| 1644, The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce. | — The same, a second edition.              |
| 1644, The Doctrine, &c. of Divorce much       | 1650, The same, a second edition, with     |
| augmented, a second edition.                  | some additions.                            |
| 1645, The same.                               | 1651, Pro Populo Anglicano defensio.       |
| 1644, The Judgement of Martin Bucer,          | 1651, The same in folio, editio emendatio. |
| concerning divorce.                           | 1651, The same in 12mo.                    |
| 1644, Of Education.                           | 1651, Pro Populo Anglicano defensio, Antw. |
| 1673, Of Education, written above twenty      | 1652, The same.                            |
| years since; printed at the end of            | 1652, Defensio secunda, Hagæ-comitum,      |
| his Poems, octavo.                            | 12mo.                                      |
| 1645, Tetrachordon.                           | 1654, The same.                            |
| 1645, Colasterion.                            | 1652, Joannis Philippi Angli responsio,    |
| 1649, Observations on the articles of peace.  | 12mo, Londini.                             |
| 1649, EIKONOKLASTHΣ.                          | 1692, The Defence of the People of Eng-    |
| 1690, The same, octavo, Amsterdam.            | land, translated by Mr. Washing-           |
| 1650, The same, a second edition, much        | ton of the Temple, octavo.                 |
| enlarged.                                     | 1655, Pro se defensio, Hagæ comitum, 12mo. |
|   | 1655, Scrip-                               |

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1655, <i>Scriptum Dom. Protectoris Reipublicæ Angliæ, &amp;c.</i>  | 1660, <i>Accedence commenced Grammar,</i> 12mo.                             |
| 1659, <i>Literæ, Senatus Anglicani necnon Cromwelli, &amp;c. nomine, conscriptæ,</i> 12mo.   | 1669, <i>The same.</i>  |
| 1659, <i>Considerations to remove hirelings out of the Church,</i> 12mo.   | 1660, <i>Brief notes upon a sermon.</i>                                     |
| 1659, <i>A letter concerning the Commonwealth,</i> 12mo.   | 1661, <i>Aphorisms of State, a Tract of Sir Walter Raleigh's,</i> 8vo.      |
| 1659, <i>The Brief Delineation of a Free Commonwealth.</i>   | 1670, <i>The history of Britain.</i>  |
| 1659, <i>A ready and easy way to establish a Commonwealth.</i>   | 1671, <i>The same.</i>  |
| 1659, <i>A treatise of Civil Power,</i> 12mo.  | 1672, <i>Artis Logicæ Institutio,</i> 12mo.                                 |
| 1658, <i>The Cabinet Council, containing the chief arts of empire, by the ever renowned knight Sir Walter Raleigh. Published by John Milton, Esq. printed by J. Newcomb, in twelves.</i> | 1673, <i>Editio secunda,</i> 12mo.  |
|  | 1673, <i>Of true Religion,</i> 12mo.  |
|  | 1674, <i>Epistolarum Familiarium Liber,</i> 8vo.                            |
|  | 1674, <i>Declaration of the Poles.</i>                                      |
|  | 1676, <i>Letters of State, 12mo. translated into English, 1694.</i>         |
|  | 1682, <i>The Historie of Moscovia,</i> 8vo.                                 |
|  | 1738, <i>The Areopagitica was published with a preface by Thomson,</i> 8vo. |

The dates of the original editions of MILTON's Poetical Works.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1667, <i>Paradise Lost, in ten books.</i>   | 1673, <i>Poems, with the Tractate on Education, written above twenty years since,</i> 8vo.  |
| 1668, <i>The same.</i>  |   |
| 1669, <i>The same, with the argument and address to the reader, from S. Simons.</i> | 1671, <i>Paradise Regained, and Samson Agonistes,</i> 8vo.  |
| 1669, <i>The same, without the address.</i>   | 1680, <i>The same.</i>  |
| 1672, <i>The same, in twelve books.</i>   | 1750, <i>The first book of Paradise Lost, Glasgow, illustrated with notes and references to the antient poets. It is to be lamented, that the whole poem had not been published in the same manner.</i> |
| 1674, <i>Paradise Lost, in twelve books, 2d edit. 8vo.</i>                          |   |
| 1675, <i>The same.</i>  |   |
| 1678, <i>The same.</i>  |   |
| 1645, <i>Poems,</i> 12mo.   |   |

All the above editions in Quarto, except those marked otherwise.







ALGERNON SYDNEY SECOND SON OF \_\_\_\_\_ ROBERT EARL OF LEICESTER COLONEL OF A REGIMENT OF HORSE ONE OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND COMMISSIONER TO MEDiate A PEACE BETWEEN SWEDEN AND DENMARK BEHEADED AFTERWARDS UNJUSTLY FOR HIGH TREASON DEC.VII.MDCLXXXIII.

DRAWN AND ETCHED MDCLX BY I.B. CIPRIANI A FLORENTINE FROM A PROOF IMPRESSION OF A SEAL INGRAVED BY THOMAS SIMON IN THE POSSESSION OF THOMAS HOLLIS OF LINCOLN'S INNE F.R. AND A.S.S.

AT THE TIME WHEN MR. ALGERNON SYDNEY WAS AMBASSADOR AT THE COURT OF DENMARK MONSIEUR TERLON THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR HAD THE CONFIDENCE TO TEAR OUT OF THE BOOK OF MOTTOES IN THE KING'S LIBRARY THIS VERSE WHICH MR. SYDNEY ACCORDING TO THE LIBERTY ALLOWED TO ALL NOBLE STRANGERS HAD WRITTEN IN IT

MANVS HAEC INIMICA TYRANNIS

ENSE PETIT PLACIDAM SVB LIBERTATE QUIETEM.

THOUGH MONSIEUR TERLON UNDERSTOOD NOT A WORD OF LATIN HE WAS TOLD BY OTHERS THE MEANING OF THAT SENTENCE WHICH HE CONSIDERED AS A LIBEL UPON THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND UPON SUCH AS WAS THEN SETTING UP IN DENMARK BY FRENCH ASSISTANCE OR EXAMPLE. *LORD MOLESWORTH'S PREFACE TO HIS ACCOUNT OF DENMARK.*

\* COL. SYDNEY BORE THIS ONLY MOTTO WITHOUT FIGURE ON THE PARLIAMENT SIDE DURING THE CIVIL WARS

## ALGERNON SIDNEY.

IN Sidney's Discourses concerning Government, chap. ii. sect. 25. p. 221. edit. 1772. we find this quotation, "from one," as the author says, "who saw what manners prevailed at the court of Rome."

——— revertar

Cum leno, meretrix, scurra, cinædus ero.

It is clear that Sidney imagined this fragment characterised the manners of the court of Rome in the times of Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. The verses had run in his mind, and he cited them by memory, not recollecting whence he had them.

Much inquiry was made after this scrap of Latin in the St. James's Chronicle, in March, April, and July, 1774; and such conjectural solutions offered as occurred to the several answerers. One of them, in the said Chronicle of July 21, 1774, who signs the initials T. C. informed his readers that the whole couplet was to be found in Thomas Rogers's Exposition of the XXXIX Articles of Religion, thus:

Roma vale, vidi; fatis est vidisse, revertar;

Cum leno, meretrix, scurra, cinædus ero.

Rogers cites the verses under the nineteenth article; but gives the second line, cum leno *aut* meretrix, &c. and only says of this and some other verses, "Hence the Pasquil poets."

It now became a question, whence Rogers had this piece of poetry; and our curiosity being raised among the rest, we set ourselves to hunt out the original satyrist, without success. In the course of our ranging we met with an old book, intitled, "A Mirror, or Looking Glass, both for Saints and Sinners, held forth in some thousands of examples, &c. By Samuel Clark, Pastor in Bennet Fink, London, 1657."

At page 394 we read as follows:

Roma vale, vidi, fatis est vidisse, revertar

Cum leno, aut meretrix, scurra cinædus ero.

Vivere qui sancte cupitis, discedite Roma,

Omnia cum liceant, non licet esse pium.

MANTUAN.

We



We were now, as we thought, sure of success; but finding the latter couplet cited by Du Plessis, in his *Mystery of Iniquity*, from Mantuan, without the former, the works of this poet, now in the British Museum, were carefully examined; but without any appearance of this distich in question.

Dr. Jortin at last gave us the clue, by a description of the *Pasquillorum Tomis duobus* in the said Museum, by which it appeared probable to us, that this couplet might be found in that collection. We applied immediately, by a friend, to Mr. Planta; whose answer to our friend's application is so satisfactory, and at the same time so curious, that we are sure of gratifying the ingenuous reader by inserting it here at full length:

“DEAR SIR,

“I have had but little trouble in finding the verses you wanted out of the Collection of Pasquils. The whole title of the book is as follows:

“PASQUILLORUM TOMI DUO. Quorum primo versibus ac rhythmis, altero soluta Oratione conscripta quamplurima continentur, ad exhilarandum, confirmandumque hoc perturbatissimo rerum statu pii lectoris animum, apprime conducentia. ELEUTHEROPOLI, 1544.” Small 8vo.

“The two volumes, which are not distinguished by a title page to the second, consist of 637 pages; though, by a mistake of the printer, who, after p. 199, began again at 100, and reckoned thence to the end, the last page in the book is marked only 537. The first tome goes to p. 123.

“It is considered as a very scarce book, inasmuch that Daniel Heinsius, who bought it at Venice for 100 ducats, wrote in his copy the following distich, on a supposition that the Romish clergy had destroyed all the other copies:

“Roma meos fratres igni dedit, unica Phoenix

“Vivo, aureisque venco centum Heinsio.

“He was however imposed upon if he gave that price for it, for the book is often to be met with in Germany.

“Gefner, in his *Pandectæ*, mentions all the works printed by John Oporin at Basil, and this among the rest. Coclius Secundus Curio is

“said



“ said by Salengre, in his Mem. de Litt. to have been the compiler of it;  
 “ but it certainly contains the works of many authors, of which num-  
 “ ber Erasmus probably was one.

“ Page 70, (which of course is in the first tome) contains two pas-  
 “ quils, which are here exactly transcribed.

“ Etymologia Romæ, A. B.

“ Roma, manus quoniam rodit, sic dicta videtur :

“ Teste, hanc qui petiit dives, inops rediit.

“ De eodem, J. V.

“ Via. Romæ quid est ? Pas. Quod te docuit præposterus Ordo.

“ Via. Quid docuit ? Pas. Jungas versa elementa, scies.

“ Via. Roma amor est. Pas. Amor est. Via. Qualis ?

“ Pas. Præposterus. Via. Unde hoc ?

“ Pas. Roma mares. Via. Noli dicere plura, scio.”

“ The Pasquil that follows next is entituled, “ De Paparum creandorum  
 “ ritu immutato, Jan. Pannonii.”

“ Page 94, (which is also in the first tome) is the following Pasquil,

“ Pasquilli Valedictio.

“ Roma vale, vidi, fatis est vidisse : revertar,

“ Quum leno, meretrix, scurra, cinædus ero.”

“ The lines, “ Vivere qui sancte, &c.” do not follow here.

“ This, I think, is all the information you want. If any thing more  
 “ is required, I shall be ready to communicate what I can come at.  
 “ I am, with great regard, DEAR SIR,

“ Your most obedient, and most humble servant,

*British Museum,*  
*May 16, 1778.*

“ JOS. PLANTA.”

Thus far the accurate Mr. Planta. Dr. Jortin may likewise be con-  
 sulted. Life of Erasmus, vol. II. p. 595. who transcribed from this  
 collection the dialogue, intituled, Julius Exclusus.

Rogers had probably seen these Pasquil Poets, as he called them, as  
 he cites the Etymologia Romæ, though not in the same form with Mr.  
 Planta's copy. He likewise inserts *aut* in the second line, without au-  
 thority ; and Clark took it upon his credit. Sidney leaves out the *aut*,  
 and consequently followed a more authentic copy. The wonder is, how  
 Sidney

Sidney came to apply these verses to the times of Claudius, &c. We apprehend something must have been left out of the context, tending to shew, that the manners at Rome were similar at both periods; a supposition far from impossible, considering the hands into which the manuscript fell, and the condition in which it was found by the publishers.

The critic in the St. James's Chronicle of July 21, 1774, says, "By the use of the word *meretrix*, in the masculine gender, he [the author] appears to have been a femi-barbarian poet."

We smiled at his hypercriticism, seeing no reason why the poet might not mean a female whore; and be no more of a barbarian than if he had said, "I will return when I have cut a slice of green cheese from the moon."

We remember an Ænigma on the Pope's eye in a leg of mutton to this effect:

I am an eye that never had sight;  
When alive I am buried; when dead, brought to light.  
*I belong to a man that's a very great whore;*  
Admired by the rich, not so much by the poor.

What a noble field for criticism, on the more than semibarbarity of the third line of this riddle!

The line and half which Sidney wrote in the Album of the University at Copenhagen,

"—— manus hæc, inimica tyrannis,

"Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem,"

are certainly his own. They contain the same sentiment which he has over and over expressed in English prose, turned into Latin verse.

"Bp. Burnet hath said of the ever-memorable Algernon Sidney, that he seemed to be a *christian in a particular form of his own*. I am of opinion, that this may be said of every man who reads the scriptures with a view of forming from thence an idea of true christianity; and I own I should be inclined to question the authenticity of that man's christianity who professes to be a christian in *any* form that is not his own. The bishop tells us farther, that Sidney thought that *christianity was to be like a divine philosophy in the mind; but was against all*  
"public

“ *public worship, and every thing that looked like a church* \*. Upon which  
 “ it is remarked by the author of the memoirs prefixed to his Dis-  
 “ courses on government, that though Mr. Sidney was an enemy to all  
 “ civil establishments of Christianity, it does not follow from thence  
 “ that he was against all public worship†. But perhaps had Sidney been  
 “ examined upon this head himself, it might have turned out, that, in  
 “ his opinion, this *divine philosophy*, imbibed and planted in the mind  
 “ by the study of the scriptures, was sufficient for salvation, abstracted  
 “ from all consideration of public worship, or connection with a visible  
 “ church; an opinion which differs very little, if it all, from that  
 “ which imports, that church-membership is not necessary to salvation,  
 “ and which is held at this day by some who are by no means to be sus-  
 “ pected of heterodoxy‡.” For which this author refers to a sermon of  
 Bp. Warburton.

More might have been said upon the subject; but, considering the writer as a dignitary of the established church, some may wonder that he had the boldness to say so much; and so should we, had he not so dextrously screened himself under the wing of one, whose eccentricities, the friends of the establishment must connive at for their own sakes, and not to discourage the pupils that he hath brought up.

After all, a more explicit account of Mr. Sidney's religious principles is desirable; as Bp. Burnet does not inform his readers of more than the mere outlines. Sidney indeed has left no authentic memorials, even of his Christianity, behind him, not even in his dying speech; save only that he expresses in his prayer an abhorrence of idolatry, meaning, perhaps, the *spirit*, as well as the *profession* of popery, and including the worship of theological systems, as well as the veneration of idol-ceremonies of human device, in visible churches of every denomination.

Milton, as well as Sidney, absented himself from all public worship; but he has given us ample and circumstantial accounts of his religious sentiments, either professedly, or incidentally in controversy, as his subject required.

\* Hist. O. T. fol. vol. I. p. 538.

† P. 28. of the fol. edit. of 1751.

‡ Four Discourses, &c. by Francis Blackburne, M. A. Archdeacon of Cleveland. Preface, p. xxxix, xl.



Mr. Locke asserted his christian liberty, not by absenting himself from all public worship, but by occasionally attending the worship of Christians dissenting from the established church ; and, one society in particular, whose preacher was a layman ; this circumstance is mentioned in the preface to Mr. Hollis's edition of Locke's Letters on Toleration, written by Baron, who appeals to the declaration of some persons then [1765] living.

With reference to this singularity of Algernon Sidney, we take the liberty to cite another passage from the Preface to the *Four Discourses* already mentioned :

“ We are told, in the Life of Sir Philip Sidney, that just before his death, *he called to him the ministers, who were all excellent men, of divers nations, and before them made such a confession of Christian Faith as no book but the heart can truly and feelingly deliver.* These divines of divers nations must also have been of divers sects or denominations of Christians ; and it would perhaps have been no easy matter to deliver a written creed that would have satisfied them all. Perhaps that was none of Sir Philip's care. He gave them one therefore, dictated by the *divine philosophy in his mind*, and died a *christian after a form of his own*. Algernon Sidney might possibly pay some regard to the religious sentiments of his noble kinsman, and adopt them as a family precedent \*.”

The British Biographer seems to have taken this anecdote from Lord Brooke, the writer of Sir Philip Sidney's Life ; who adds, “ Then he [Sir P. S.] desired them to accompany him in prayer, wherein he besought leave to lead the assembly, in respect (as he said) that the secrets of his own heart were best known to himself.”

This little incident may serve as an instance, in some degree, of public worship *led* by a layman ; and affords an useful hint to the high liturgists, as well as to the zealous advocates for what is called *free prayer*, in certain congregations, how improper it may be, on particular occasions, for a thinking Christian to trust either his faith or his devotions to the mouths of other men. So, it is likely, thought Mr. Hollis, and with such precedents before him who can condemn him ?

\* P. xl.

“ Every

“ Every man,” says Andrew Marvell, “ is bound to work out his own salvation with fear and trembling, and therefore to use all helps possible for his best satisfaction, hearing, conferring, reading, praying for the assistance of God’s Spirit ; but when he hath done this he is his own expositor, his own both minister and people, bishop and diocese, his own council ; and, his conscience excusing or condemning him accordingly, he escapes or incurs his own internal anathema \*.”

“ Suppose a man,” says another writer, will read no other religious book but only his testament, and will consult no commentator thereon ; but will only consider the plain sense of it as he readeth, and make his own collections from it ; this man may be thereby directed to lead a good christian life ; and if he shall do so, he will (according to the tenour of the gospel) be certainly saved by the merits of CHRIST, although no Christian church should own him, or can lay any claim to him as a member of her communion †.”

Sidney’s Discourses on Government contain so many guards against tyranny and despotic power, that wherever corrupt statesmen have the humiliation of the people in contemplation, it is their interest to depreciate his doctrine, and defame his person. There are few practical politicians that are such blockheads as not to see, that Sidney’s expedients to secure or recover public liberty are easy, obvious, and even practicable, wherever there is virtue enough among the enterprising patriots to carry them into execution. And whenever attempts are made to blacken the characters of such men as Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney, by writers employed or favoured by government, we are tempted to conclude, that the masters or patrons of the blackeners are no friends to public liberty.

Every one knows the scandals that have been thrown upon these illustrious names by some Scotch historians ; but every one does not know that the plausible proofs brought to confirm those scandals are mere fictions, because the coiners of them felt not that compunction that their worthy countryman Lauder did, after he had aspersed Milton as a plagiary.

\* “ Historical Essay, touching general Councils, Synods, Convocations, Creeds, and Imposition in Religion ;” published in a collection of tracts, by several hands, 1709. p. 369.

† “ The Principle of the Reformation, concerning Church-Communion ;” in the same collection, page 185.

We have seen two defences, or rather apologies, of Sidney and Russell, the one by the late historian Granger, the other by the Rev. Joseph Towers; they have said enough to render the testimony of Barillon suspected; but they were too modest to deny the veracity of Dalrymple; for they would say, upon what could so honourable a man found so atrocious a calumny?

We who are not so scrupulous will give the passage at length:

“ Sidney was ambassador in Denmark at the time of the Restoration, but did not come back till the year seventy-eight, when the parliament was pressing the king into a war. The court of France obtained leave for him to return. He did all he could to divert people from that war; so that some took him for a pensioner of France. But to those to whom he durst speak freely he said, he knew it was all a juggle; that our court was in an entire confidence with France, and had no other design in this shew of a war, but to raise an army, and keep it beyond sea till it was trained and modelled.” Burnet’s Hist. O. T. vol. I. p. 5.

Could any man whose turn it would serve, and who could wish to realize these suspicions, meet with a more promising ground-work for his purpose? I question whether the Fragments of Ossian were more substantial vouchers for the credit of Fingal, or whether mere Spanish intelligence afforded a more authentic basis for Principal Robertson’s Mexican Lucubration, than this passage furnished for the romance of which Barillon and Sidney are the heroes.

The persons to whom Sidney opened his mind on this occasion were, doubtless, the Lords Essex and Russell, with whom Bp. Burnet’s intimacy was sufficient to have these matters communicated to him. And had Burnet’s History, and this passage in it, appeared in the world subsequent to Sir J. D’s detail, I have that opinion of the good sense of the people of England as to believe, that the correspondence between Barillon and Sidney would have been universally condemned as a political fiction. But shall not one Scotsman be allowed to compose romances as well as another? And when the interest of our patrons, and the credit of father Orleans, is at stake, it is not of half the consequence what the people believe of a highland warrior, who is supposed to have lived many centuries ago, or of the patriotic exertions of Pizarro in Mexican America,



America, as what they believe of Algernon Sidney and Lord William Russell.

We expected to have gleaned some valuable intelligence concerning Sidney from a late publication, intituled, *The British Plutarch*; but there is little to improve by in his article, which is strangely mixed with that of Lord Russell. He passes over the Scotch attack upon these two patriots in silence, but makes amends by calling Sidney *a mad Englishman*, for shooting his horse, that the animal might not be the slave of the tyrant Lewis. Perhaps it might be in such a fit of frenzy that he took Barillon's money. This modern Plutarch is mistaken. The edition of Sidney's works, 1763, is not the best; it is much improved in that of 1772.

Mr. Walpole [Noble Authors] mentions, in a note, a tract, intituled, "A just and modest Vindication of the Proceedings of the two last Parliaments, 1681, quarto, first written by Algernon Sidney, but new-drawn by Somers; published by Baldwin, in his Collection of Charles II."

"July 26, 1754.

"Mr. Hollis purchased of Mr. George Vertue a drawing of Algernon Sidney, *ætatis sue* 41. It was taken by Mr. Vertue from an original in oil at Penshurst, by permission of John earl of Leicester, and was intended to have been engraved among the illustrious men then publishing by Knapton. It was painted by Julius Verus ab Egmont, 1663, and etched by Vertue."

July 27, 1757, Mr. Hollis saw the original painting at Penshurst. He says, it had been torn on one cheek, and likewise badly cleaned. He notes likewise, that from this drawing Mr. Gauffet's portrait of A. Sidney was modelled in wax to be placed among his series of eminent persons. A set of these models in wax, Mr. Hollis, as we have already mentioned, presented to Mr. Meerman of Rotterdam.

"A free sketch of Britannia Victrix, etched after a cameo, graven upon a gem of five colors, which is in possession of Thomas Hollis of Lincoln's Inn, F. R. S. F. A. S. On the reverse of the cameo is graven an Intaglia of the head of Algernon Sidney, after the picture of him which is at Penshurst, with this inscription round it: GUILTY! DO YOU CALL THAT GUILT!"

From

From a note among Mr. Hollis's papers, dated MDCCLXX :

“ The putting to death that sovereign [Charles I.] could by no means  
 “ be the GUILTY part of their opposition ; if a king deserves to be op-  
 “ posed by force of arms, he deserves death : if he reduces his subjects  
 “ to that extremity, the blood spilt in the quarrel lies on him ; the ex-  
 “ ecuting him afterwards is a mere formality.” Royal and Noble Au-  
 thors, vol. II. p. 69. Sidney's sentiment is honoured by the suffrage  
 of this valuable writer.

The venerable Arthur Onflow, in a conversation with one of his  
 friends, said, “ There was some little colour of law in Lord Russell's  
 “ trial, but that Algernon Sidney was absolutely murdered.”

Sir John Hawles hath ably and accurately examined the circumstances  
 of both these trials ; and it appears from his account of them, that  
 both the law and the evidence upon which Russell and Sidney were con-  
 demned were *made* by the Judges and the Attorney General upon the  
 spot ; only it happened that Pemberton was a more decent man, that is  
 to say, less of a brute than Jeffries, which, in the opinion of the worthy  
 Speaker, might give a more plausible colour to the proceedings against  
 Lord Russell.

Mr. Hollis hath mentioned a particular concerning Algernon Sidney,  
 which he had from Mr. Onflow, the Speaker, and which he proposed to  
 insert in his then intended new edition of Sidney's Discourses.

There is no saying with certainty what particular is here alluded to.  
 It was probably the passage in Mr. Pelham's speech, p. 228, of Sir John  
 Fenwick's trial ; where it is said, that Sidney would not have said any  
 thing, even to save his life, if he had thought it inconsistent with liberty  
 and the good of his country.

At the time that Sir John Fenwick's attainder was debated in the  
 House of Commons, Sir John Hawles was solicitor general, and a mem-  
 ber of parliament, and spake in that capacity, and not as king's counsel  
 [*vide* Trial, p. 73.]. He acted throughout a candid part, and shewed  
 how much fairer play Sir John had than Lord Russell ; and likewise  
 shewed by what *slip* Cornish lost his life ; but says not one word to in-  
 validate Col. Sidney's doctrine concerning a single witness ; but in his  
 speech in favour of the bill gives sufficient reasons to distinguish Col.  
 Sidney's case from Sir John Fenwick's.

We have perused Algernon Sidney's article in the *Biographia Britannica*, the compiler of which hath endeavoured to discredit Bp. Burnet's account, that "the court of France obtained leave for him to return to "England," by confronting with it a letter of Sidney to the Hon. Henry Savile, dated Nerac, December, 1682.

Without doubt the date is mistaken for 1677; but there is nothing in that letter contradictory to what Burnet says of the court of France's obtaining leave for his return home; for the court of England would naturally require some assurances from himself or friends of his demeaning himself as a peaceable subject when he arrived, abstracted from any intimations from the French court that he might be gained to be useful to Charles's projects, &c. which was probably the motive that induced the court of France to interfere in that matter.

Several pamphlets were published by way of animadversions on his last speech: one of which is quoted in the *Biographia Britannica*, in order to shew what Sidney had no inclination to deny; *viz.* his being concerned in Charles's trial as a member of the high court of justice. We have now before us another pamphlet of the same stamp, intituled, "Mr. Sidney his self-conviction, or his dying paper condemned to live "for a conviction to the present faction, and a caution to posterity. "Printed by H. Hills, for Robert Clavell, 1684." The curious part of which is to sett off West, Rumsey, and Keeling, for *honesty, uprightness of life, integrity of manners*, and *disengagement from self-interest*, and to exculpate Lord Howard from Mr. Sidney's charge of perjury, by affirming, that his contradicting upon oath, what he had said when not upon oath, was what he might safely do without being liable to that imputation.

We could make some farther remarks on our patriot's article in the *Biographia Britannica*; but as the whole work is undergoing a revision, by able and candid editors, we have no doubt but this Life, as well as others, will have justice done it; and we have no inclination to anticipate what will be so much better told by the respectable undertakers of this valuable work, of which we have already had so masterly a specimen.

"When the celebrated Algernon Sidney placed his head on the block, "he was asked, as is customary in such cases, by the executioner, *If*  
" *he*



*“ he should rise again ?” To this he intrepidly replied : Not till the general resurrection : Strike on.”*

This we transcribe from a paper, intituled, “ The Egotist, N° 12, December 17, 1768.” The reply is so perfectly characteristic, that we cannot withhold our assent to the authenticity of the anecdote; and, as this expression may be considered as part of Sidney’s dying speech, we are obliged to retract some part of what we have said above, and allow this to be a full proof of Sidney’s belief of the Christian revelation.

We have said something of Sir Philip Sidney’s religion; and we cannot help thinking that he derived some of his sentiments on that subject from Hubert Languet, though little of that sort may appear in Languet’s letters to him. Perhaps he might likewise imbibe some of Languet’s political principles from their frequent conversations. But of this we have met with no explicit proof. He was a man of great spirit and courage, and of a sound judgment in matters of weight and consequence to his country, which makes it less matter how he succeeded in works of imagination; and we leave his vindication or apology to those who may think Mr. Walpole’s censure of him too severe. We shall only say, that if some subsequent poets, play-writers, and novelists, we could mention, had been put to their purgation, it would have appeared how much they had been obliged for some of their embellishments to Sir Philip Sidney’s *Arcadia*. Concerning Sir Philip’s attempts to introduce the measures of Latin verse into English poetry, we shall only give the following anecdote: “ A very young lady, highly accomplished in some branches of polite learning, repeating some English sapphics on the subject of the last judgment and the dissolution of the present mundane system, in the presence of some men of genius and learning, greatly affected them with the force of the poetry, and the propriety and energy with which it was rehearsed, and, having expressed their eagerness to know the author, were greatly surprized to find that so extraordinary a composition was the work of the respectable Isaac Watts, D. D.”

We shall add a testimony to the merit of Sir Philip Sidney not much known:

“ Ily a eu deux Philippes, beaux esprits, desquels les noms se ressemblent, de Mornay, de Marnix [*Baudius y en adjouste un troisieme et avec*  
*raison,*

“ *raison, Philippe Sidney*].” Scaligerana fecunda, edit. 1740. at the word Marnix.

We are hardly friends with Mr. Des Maizeaux for omitting to refer us to the passage of Baudius.

The mistakes of Sir Fulk Grevil concerning our hero are rectified in the Biographia Britannica after Anthony Wood.

#### HUBERT LANGUET.

THE *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos* was a favorite book with Mr. Hollis; which was the reason of our enlarging on that subject in the Memoirs. Mr. Bayle, we think, has left his reader under uncertainty in his dissertation concerning the author of that book. Perhaps however he has told us as much as he could learn. He seems at least to have had the approbation of the accurate Mr. De la Monnoye, in his corrections of the *Menagiana*, vol. IV. p. 61. &c. What he adds to that article we shall cite :

“ The *Vindiciæ* is worthy of Languet. We there discover the able  
 “ lawyer and politician, such as he really was ; the stile is agreeable to  
 “ that of his epistles. The place of its impression is Basil, by Thomas  
 “ Guarin. A strong presumption, at least, that he was the printer, is,  
 “ that comparing the initial letters of the chapters with those of an edi-  
 “ tion of Lilius Gyraldus, in folio, by the same Guarin, I have found  
 “ them altogether alike. They who have other books which came from  
 “ the same press may give themselves the pleasure of this exami-  
 “ nation.”

Few critics, less solicitous than Mr. de la Monnoye to find fathers for anonymous books, would think of identifying a printer by the flourishes or devices of his initial letters. One of these ornaments, however, in the first edition of the *Vindiciæ*, at the beginning of the first question, is remarkable enough to catch the eye of the most careless observer of such things. It represents two soldiers playing at dice on the head of a drum, and a third standing by as a spectator.

The printers of those times seem to have piqued themselves upon their taste in these embellishments of initial letters. In a folio edition of Sleidan, printed at Francfort, 1568, by Peter Fabricius, at the expence of Sigismund Feyrabend, the initials are adorned with a repre-

fentation of some character of mythological story, whose name began with the same letter. The letter A. is embellished with the figure of Amphion on the back of the dolphin; C. with Cadmus and the dragon; D. Daphne and Apollo; I. Icarus; M. Midas; V. Venus and Adonis, &c. The third book begins with the word Fridericus. But mythology furnishing no character to the printer's mind whose name began with an F. he hath substituted Phaeton as the device for that initial. Learned and curious men, in their accounts of the progress of printing, have not neglected to remark on the various marks and devices of different printers. The custom of embellishing initial letters took its rise most probably from the illuminations, as they are called, in manuscripts. See the article TORI, in Bayle's Dictionary.

Sir David Dalrymple's edition of Languet's Letters to Sir Philip Sidney, printed at Edinburgh, 1776, is elegant, and more correct than former editions; but might have been improved. The Index nominum may, in some degree, supply the place of notes; but is too imperfect in that respect to satisfy an inquisitive reader. The testimonies from different authors, at the beginning, do honour to Languet as far as they go. But do not atone for the want of a life of Languet, which the public had some reason to expect upon the republication of any of his valuable pieces. We appeal to Mr. Bayle, art. *LANGUET*, Rem. [F] for the justification of this remark, and think Sir David would have done well to have supplied the defect of Mr. Ludovicus, who, according to Mr. Bayle's information, intended to prefix to his edition of Languet's Letters his Life, by Mr. De la Mare. Perhaps that might have occasioned some notice of the author, and doctrine of the *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*, not very palatable to the givers of good things in these days.

Whether Languet wrote that book or not, he espoused the principles of it, as appears by the following citations.

The battle of Dreux was fought January 19, 1563. The Duke of Guise was shot by Poltrot, the 18th of February following. Languet writes to Joachim Camerarius the elder, in August the same year, as follows, from Paris:

“Plerique de causis ex eventu judicant. Mihi sane videtur hujus  
“regionis status non absimilis esse ei qui fuit Romæ post interfectum Ju-  
“lium;



“ lium ; sed *nostri* in eo cautiores fuerunt, quod Tyrannum sustulerunt  
 “ antequam res suas constituerat.” Epist. IX. edit. 1646.

He had said nearly the same thing to Ulrich Mordisius, in a letter, dated June 20 in the same year, from Paris.

By *nostri*, Languet means the Protestants, and by *Tyrannum* the Duke of Guise, who, at the time of his death, governed the councils and affairs of France uncontrolled by the authority of the King or the Queen mother ; and he must be here understood to ascribe the death of Guise to the counsels of his own party ; *i. e.* the Protestants.

And yet, from a letter of his to the same *Mordisius*, dated from Leipzig, April 16, 1563, he appears to have been otherwise informed :

“ Fuit mihi valde gratum intelligere ex tuis literis Amiralium libe-  
 “ ratum suspicione cædis Guisii, propter odium familiarum. GENE-  
 “ ROSIUS est etiam illum alterum non spe præmii, sed sua sponte præ-  
 “ trasse ILLUD PRAECLARUM FACINUS quo patriam ab interitu vindicavit.”

This is a most honourable testimony to the Sieur Poltrot, and at the same time a high presumptive proof that the *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos* was written by no other hand. For where will you find the principle so strongly avowed in the writings of Beza, Du Plessis, Hottoman, or any of those to whom the *Vindiciæ* has been ascribed ?

Poltrot, immediately before he shot the duke of Guise, “ prayed fervently that God would give him grace to change his mind, if what he was about to do was displeasing to him ! otherwise, that he would give him resolution and sufficient strength to slay this tyrant, and by that means to deliver Orleans from destruction, and the whole realm of France from so miserable a tyranny !” Beza, *Eccles. Hist.* vol. II. p. 268.

May not Languet be supposed to have had this prayer of Poltrot in his mind when he wrote as above ?

Mr. Hollis, we certainly believe, intended to procure a new edition of the *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*, and caused an elegant engraving of Languet’s head to be taken by Mr. Cipriani, from an original painting in his [Mr. Hollis’s] collection ; with a design of prefixing it to such new edition.

A book intituled, "De furoribus Gallicis, Ernesto Veramundo Frisio auctore," has been fathered upon Languet, as we are informed, by Mr. Bayle; but he says, after Mr. de la Mare, "on no good grounds." We have not seen this gentleman's Life of Languet; but till there are *good grounds* to ascribe it to some other author, we should have no scruple to give it to Languet, judging from the elegance of the stile, the perspicuity of the narrative, and the judicious reflections of the historian. It is the best account extant of the rise, progress, and consequences of the Parisian Massacre. The author says, "cujus [rei] cognoscendæ facultatem cum ex mea ipsius calamitate, tum ex iis qui magnam illarum trucidationum partem suis oculis hauserunt acceperim."

Languet, in his letter to Sir Philip Sidney, Jan. 1, 1574, where he speaks of an oration he had composed in the name of some German princes three years before, *i. e.* 1571, says, *in qua sunt quedam ita libere dicta, ut in tumultu Parisiensi valde metuerim ne ea res esset mihi exitio.*

From this last citation we conclude, that Languet was in a situation, during the tumultus Parisiensis, to collect all the evidence mentioned in the former.

There were two early editions of this book of Veramundus; one in quarto, Edinburgi, 1573; another, in small octavo, of the same date, now before us, said in the colophon, *Excussum Londini in adibus Henrici Bynnemanni typographi anno salutis humanæ 1573.*

In the copy we use the name of the place where printed is cut out of the title-page; we believe it to have been *Edinburgi*. As this likewise is the fictitious signature in the *Vindiciæ*, we think it a presumption at least that both came from the same hand.

Many have been the editions of the *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*. Mr. Hollis picked up as many of them as he could meet with. Among the rest he had one in 24<sup>o</sup>, in which the title was altered into "*Vindiciæ Religionis, hoc est Decisio Theologica-Politica, quatuor quæstionum,*" [which are put down in the title-page at full length] "*Autore Stephano Junio Bruto Celta. Parisiæ. Typis Michaelis De Mathoniæ, 1631.*" There is little doubt but this edition was procured by the Protestants, and probably upon some particular occasion, which cannot now be discovered. We conjecture however that this edition was printed at Edin'burgh, va-

ther than Paris, and might be meant for a check to Laud's impositions of ceremonies, &c. in Scotland about that time. Dr. Kennet mentions an edition of the *Vindiciæ*, Urfellis, 1600. It should be Ufellis, Oyfel, in Sarlinia. Preface to his translation of Pliny's Panegyric.

Another edition, in 12m. "Stephano Junio Bruto celta five, ut putatur Theodore Beza, auctore, Amstelodami, 1660," to throw odium, it is thought, on that party in Holland.

Mr. Walpole will excuse us, if, having an high estimation of Hubert Languet's learning and judgment, we believe he must have seen something very extraordinary in Sir Philip Sidney's understanding and abilities, to have induced him to correspond with Sir Philip on such subjects as are treated of in the letters he wrote to that gentleman. If Sir Philip's part of the correspondence had been preserved, it would have given us perhaps a specimen of his merit beyond what his remaining works exhibit.

#### GEORGE BUCHANAN.

HIS book *De jure Regni apud Scotos* was another of Mr. Hollis's favourites. He had a copy of the first edition of that tract, in the blank leaves of which are some curious particulars, in manuscript; and, among others, the Scotch act of parliament, prohibiting the sale of the book, which the reader will find in the Appendix, N<sup>o</sup> III.

Buchanan dedicated his book, *De jure*, &c. to his royal pupil James VI. The dedication bears date Jan. 10, 1579. The whole title is, "De Jure Regni apud Scotos, Dialogus, authore Georgio Buchanano Scoto. Anno Do. 1579." It was probably printed at Edinburgh, and at some press where there were no Greek types; for the Greek words are every where inserted in blank spaces with a pen. It is hardly to be supposed that there were no Greek types in Edinburgh at that time; or, if that was really the case, it is a certain proof that Languet's *Vindicie*, &c. must have been printed elsewhere, as the Greek in that tract is printed in its proper character.

Mr. Hollis, in a blank page at the end of this copy, says, "In the year 1579 this book was likewise printed, with the following title: "De jure Regni apud Scotos, Dialogus, authore Georgio Buchanano  
"Scoto,



“Scoto, Edinburgi, apud Johannem Rosseum, pro Henrico Charteris,  
“A. D. 1579, cum privilegio Regali.”

There is no accounting for the difference in the title-pages of these two editions in one and the same year. We can only say that we have compared the first mentioned copy with several subsequent editions, and find no variations, except a very few mentioned by Ruddiman. The latter, by Ross and Charteris, we have not seen. Mr. Hollis likewise mentions another edition, in 1580, without the name of the place where, or the printer by whom printed. There was an English translation, in 1680, 12mo.

In a blank page at the beginning is written, in the owner's own hand,  
“Liber Thomæ Hollis Angli Hospitii Lincolnienfis, Regalis et Antiqua-  
“riorum societatum fodalif, libertatis, patriæ præstantifque ejus con-  
“ftitutionis laudatiffimè, anno 1688, recuperatæ, amatoris ftudiofiffimi.”

The fame is written, word for word, in Mr. Hollis's copy of the *Vindicie*.

This book appears to have had feveral mafters; all of them giving an honourable testimony of the value of its contents.

The first is, “Ewrtius Jolyvet me habet Desmarais, a<sup>o</sup> gratiæ  
“1625. Virtù, Loy, et Verite.” Hence it paffed, through many intermediate hands no doubt, into the poffeffion of General James Dormer, as appears by the following note: “Donum amiciffimi Jacobi Dormer,  
“ταξιαρχου. A. D. 1716. Floreat Libertas, pereat Tyrannis. J. Bridges,” and underneath, by the fame hand, “τὸ εὐδαιμον τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ δὲ  
“ἐλεύθερον τὸ εὐψυχον. Thucyd. in oratione Periclis.”

Thus Englifhed in Mr. Hollis's hand:

“Felicity is freedom, and freedom is magnanimity.” Then follows,  
“Libertas fummmum vitæ condimentum. Johannes Wardus, LL. D.  
“Rhet. Prof. Gresh. Reg. et Ant. SS. Sodal. Muf. Brit. Cur.” and from this worthy perfon we believe Mr. Hollis had the book, as Dr. Ward's name and additions are put down in his hand-writing.

The laft is this Greek verfe:

Ἡμῖσι γάρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνυται δέλιον ἡμᾶς;

to which is fubfcribed the venerable name *Chatham*, in the hand-writing of that illuftrious patriot.

By the information of a learned friend we found this verse was cited by Longinus, sect. 44, from Homer, *Od.* P. v. 322, 323.

Ἡμισυ γάρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνυται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς  
Ἀνέρος, εὖτ' ἂν μιν κατὰ δέλιον ἥμαρ ἔλησιν.

which are thus translated by Pope :

Jove fix'd it certain, that whatever day  
Makes man a slave, takes half his worth away.

Mr. Pope, in his note, translates Longinus's reflections on a state of slavery, which introduce this citation, with too great freedom, as we think.

Longinus chiefly means to prove, that no slave can be an orator, not only because of the confinement of his ideas, but because also he is deprived of the liberty of speech ; that is, of the practice necessary to finish a complete orator.

How our great English orator would be affected with these reflections of Longinus's philosopher, may be easily conceived.

We can give no account how Buchanan's doctrine came to be thus honoured with Lord Chatham's approbation. We can only conjecture, that the book might be shewn him by Mr. Hollis, and that he might be prompted to add this maxim in favour of Liberty, to the preceding entries, in conformity to the custom of learned men writing some favourite sentence in what has been called *Album Amicorum* \*.

Buchanan, by spending so much of his time in France, became better known there than he would otherwise have been, and consequently more exposed to the vengeance of the papists of that country, for his verses against the Franciscans, for his dialogue *De jure*, &c. and for such parts of his history as relate to the Queen of Scots, who had been the consort to their king. The calumnies and falsehoods written about this great man by such bigots and sycophants as Garasse, Varillas, Orleans, Moreri, &c. may be seen in Bayle's article of Buchanan, where many of them are refuted.

What father Orleans has said of him is barely referred to by Bayle ; we shall therefore transcribe the passage, as that historian of the Revolutions of England is said to have come into better credit with some of our countrymen than he was honoured with twenty years ago.

\* It was lent Lord Chatham to read,

“ One cannot read, without harbouring some indignation against  
 “ him” [our James I.] “ for his patience in suffering the insolence of  
 “ Buchanan, who had the assurance to dedicate a book to him, wherein  
 “ he makes kings amenable to the judgment of their subjects, and liable  
 “ to punishments, of which deposition is not the most severe. What  
 “ this mercenary historian hath falsely written, touching Mary Stuart,  
 “ should have found in the heart of a son a little vivacity exerted against  
 “ the calumniator of his mother. Posterity, who will not pardon his  
 “ tameness with respect to Queen Elizabeth, notwithstanding it was so  
 “ much his interest to keep well with her, will not forgive his in-  
 “ gence of a worthless fellow, only because he was a man of genius.”  
 Hist. Rev. Liv. IX. sub anno 1625.

If another jesuit should undertake to continue father Orleans's history to the present times, he might perhaps change his note, and call such indulgence by the name of encouragement. We quote father Phillips's history as an instance.

But Orleans was ill-informed, and knew little of the times, or the country of which he was writing.

Buchanan dates the dedication of his book, *De jure Regni*, to James, January, 1579, when that king was his pupil. The book was published that same year, as we have mentioned; and probably about the same time his history of Scotland, which ends with the year 1571.

Buchanan died in September 1582, and the factions in the interval, between the publication of his books, and that period, would have left James no time for animadversion on such writings if he had been of age to govern for himself, which he was not.

In the Scottish parliament of 1584 Buchanan's books were condemned and prohibited.

James makes Casaubon say, in a letter to the excellent Thuanus, dated March, 1612, that he was then but fourteen or fifteen years of age; but he was eighteen in 1584. Casaubon adds, in the same letter, that neither Buchanan's history, nor any other of the same sort [*neque similis ulla alia*], had been published in Scotland. See Mr. Samuel Buckley's second letter to Dr. Mead, 1728, p. 42.

We much question the truth of this. Buchanan dedicated his history to his pupil the King; this address is dated *Edinburgi*, *iiii calend.* Septemb.;



Septemb. ; but no year mentioned. In it however he mentions some former editions, one at least, which had suffered at the press ; and it is very unlikely, that a work dedicated to the King by one of his subjects should be first printed or published in a foreign land ; and Buchanan was dead in 1584, when the Scotch Parliament which condemned his books was held. But be this as it might, he said, that there was an edition of Buchanan's history, with his dialogue *De jure Regni*, annexed, printed at Francfort, by John Wechel, at the expence of Sigismund Feyrabend, in this very year 1584. The copy we have before us wants the title-page, and probably some other preliminaries, by which we might have learned whether it was printed from a Scotch edition or not \*.

But why should James endeavour to impose upon Thuanus ? For a very obvious reason ; to prevail with him to pay no credit to Buchanan, whom he had chiefly followed in those parts of his own noble history, where he had occasion to speak of Scottish affairs.

But the honest and upright Thuanus was proof against all James's attempts of that kind, and, though with great modesty and deference, in reply to all Camden's and Casaubon's arguments, he supported the credit of Buchanan, by the authority of others, even of the contrary party.

They who have a mind to see this curious correspondence may find it in Buckley's Letters, and still more circumstantially in that noble edition of Thuanus's history ; to which these letters were preparatory.

To balance the scandals thrown upon Buchanan by the French papists, and Scotch or English Tories, we shall add, in the Appendix, the characters given of him by Thuanus and Burnet, not forgetting Spotswood, who could not forbear to do him justice, though no doubt he disliked his principles.

His book *De jure Regni apud Scotos* ever was, and ever will be, an eyefore to the Stuart-race, and the fautors of it and their principles :

“ He went too far, says Spotswood, in depressing the royal authority “ of Princes ; and allowing their controlment by subjects ;” which is moderate enough for a man whose ideas were so far warped the other way.

\* Concerning the several editions of Buchanan's works consult Ruddiman's preface to Freebairn's edition.

Thuanus qualifies his encomium of Buchanan with this gentle drawback in a parenthesis, (*quamvis interdum libertate genti innata contra regium fastigium acerbior.*)

One cannot wonder that the profligate jesuit John Baptist Machault, who, in the year 1614, published some infamous *Notations* upon Thuanus's history, should abuse the excellent President for this lenity to the Scotch politician.

"Buchananum laudat Thuanus," says he, "quem impudentissima *μεῖναι* excusat, *interdum* inquit, *libertate*, &c. Unde autem drepente mollis ille cenfor qui scripta Buchanani, pene dicam fanguine humano exarata, quibus ille populum ad arma contra principes sumenda convocat, tam levi brachio cædit \*."

One cannot wonder, we say, at such strictures from a jesuit. But what shall we think of the following censure passed upon Buchanan by such a writer as Casaubon; and that in a letter to the same Thuanus?

"Quid igitur de Buchanano et Scotis aliquot aliis dicemus, qui díferte verbisque expressis, (horresco referens!) legitimos Reges quos ipsi Tyrannos appellant, vel publico supplicio afficiendos pronunciant, vel privati cujusvis manu esse occidendos †?"

But this made no impression upon the noble historian, who was probably convinced that Buchanan's principles were not *innate* to the Scots only, but derived from the primæval institutions of nature in all free states; and a Chatham or a Hollis would have informed Casaubon, that the innate liberty of Thuanus's own countrymen (as appears in Hottoman's *Franco-Gallia* ‡), suggested to them the same principles; and that  
the

\* P. 12. The whole title of the book is this: "In Jacobi Thuanii Historiarum libros, Notationes, Lectoribus, et utiles, et necessariæ. Auctore Johanne Baptista Gallo. Ingolitadii, 1614." The book was condemned and prohibited by the magistrates of Paris, in the same year.

† Epistolæ Isaaci Casauboni Rotterdami, 1709. Epist. mdcxvii. p. 372. Buckley omits this passage of Casaubon's letter to Thuanus in his second letter to Dr. Mead.

‡ Hottoman's *Franco-Gallia* was another of Mr. Hollis's canonical books on the subject of government. Machault the jesuit abuses Thuanus for his indulgence to this author likewise: "Nec vero acerbior fuit in reprehendenda Hottomanni *Franco-Gallia*, aut Anthenotico Boetiani Burdegalenfis senatoris, quibus illi Monarchiæ Gallicanæ hostes capitalissimi plebeculam quasi classico ad defectionem excitant. Si quid tale a catholico quopiam, Deus immortalis! quibus diris caput ejus Thuanus devoveret?" Machaultus, p. 13.

Thuanus does indeed mention Hottoman's book, among others; which, he says, were published in 1573 (the year after the Paris Massacre) *ad preparandos seditioni animos*; but, for the rest, he barely gives an account of the contents of it, without attempting to confute the doctrines therein advanced. Lib. 57. sub an. 1573.

the legitimacy of a king at his accession did not hinder his degenerating into a tyrant, in the sense of Buchanan, punishable by the people for his misgovernment.

Our prerogative lawyers, and their pupils in the political school, are careful to apprise us, from time to time, that many steps taken at the Revolution were contrary to law ; but they have not shewn that they were contrary to the English constitution. They allow indeed that all was made whole by the acts of settlement. But they will hardly say that the princes whose succession was then secured by those acts were not removeable for the violation of those acts, or such mal-administration as should strike at the fundamental rights of the people, secured to them by the common law, or particular compact and stipulation.

The Bill of Rights, for instance, says, “that elections of members to “serve in the House of Commons shall be free;” and so says the common law, interpreted by common sense. All influence therefore of kings or their ministers, tending to infringe that freedom, is treason against the people, and may by them be opposed and punished; nor does it alter the case when the electors themselves, or their corrupt representatives, are accessaries in the conspiracy. The virtuous and uncorrupted part of the public have a right reserved to them by their

Lord Moleworth's Remarks on Mr. Bayle's censure of Hottoman are just. But perhaps Bayle was not so much “a friend to tyranny and tyrants,” in general, as forward to shew his spleen to our K. William (who had disoblged him), by disapproving the doctrines in virtue of which his accession to the crown of England was promoted.

The Jesuit Machault, we see, says, that “if such doctrines had been published by a catholic, Thuanus “would have raised horrible outcries.” He means such catholics as they were who encouraged Chastel, Clement, and Ravilliac, in their several enterprises. And it cannot be denied, that the detestation of the jesuits, who encouraged and justified those assassins, made the French protestants extremely cautious to avoid recrimination upon themselves, in writing and speaking of the tyrants under whom they suffered persecution; and, indeed, on that account professed the most consummate loyalty to their princes, even to affectation. The very same Salmasius who encouraged princes to resist the usurpations of the pope, and to chastise the insolence of his ecclesiastics, defended the tyrant Charles 1. in all his illegal acts against the safety and happiness of a whole people. Machault would have given his vote for the deposition or slaughter of an heretical king, but an orthodox tyrant might for him have used his lay-subjects as his dogs or horses. But this was a distinction (obvious enough to all sensible men) to which the Protestants of France did not care to trust. It appears, however, in that letter of Bongars to Thuanus, quoted by Mr. Bayle, that they were not all of them at all times so scrupulous. Whether Lord Moleworth was aware of the accusations brought against Hottoman by Baudoin, mentioned in the end of Hottoman's article in Bayle's Dictionary, does not appear. Perhaps he thought the defence of Hottoman, in such matters, of no consequence to his design in publishing the Franco Gallia. Baudoin was a weathercock, and changed his religion often, on more than suspicious motives. Hottoman was steady to his principles in all emergencies. His conduct was a reproach to Baudoin; and perhaps *hinc illæ lachrymæ*.



original charters, the charters of nature and social happiness, to rid themselves of the defaulters, unless Mr. Locke is mistaken, who says, "The community perpetually retains a supreme power of saving themselves from the attempts and designs of any body, even of their legislators, whenever they shall be so foolish or so wicked as to lay and carry on designs against the liberties and properties of the subject." (Locke of Civil Government, Chap. XIII. p. 328. Mr. Hollis's edition, 1764.) A doctrine which a certain eminent divine forgot to confute when he so strenuously contended for the absolute and exclusive supremacy of the legislature.

They who will take the trouble to peruse with attention the correspondence of Casaubon and Camden with Thuanus, on the history of the Scots, will be surprized at the attempts of some modern authors to discredit the accounts that Buchanan has given of James's mother, and her exploits. It was not in the power of James or his underworkers, Sir Robert Cotton, William Camden, and Isaac Casaubon, all names of renown, to unsettle Thuanus's judgment of the veracity of George Buchanan. For the credit due to the more modern vindicators of James and his mother, we refer our readers to Mr. Walpole's catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, &c. and to some observations on the account of that work given by the Critical Reviewers, [id est, the late Dr. Smollet] for Woodgate and Brooks, 1759.

The British Biographer tells us, in the margin of Buchanan's article (supplement, p. 19), that "when it was observed to him, that he had made his majesty [James, his pupil] a pedant, he replied, it was the best he could make of him." Dr. Philip Nicolls, the compiler of this article, gives us no authority for this conversation, which may perhaps be apocryphal, but is not quite improbable. The article itself is but slightly composed, otherwise not much reprehensible. We doubt not of its having every advantage under the hands of the able revisers in their new edition of this interesting work.

"When Buchanan was dying, he was requested by the king his pupil to contradict what he had written too licentiously concerning Queen Mary his mother; and to make amends for the scandals where- with he had aspersed her character in his writings, by some illustrious testimony to the contrary. Buchanan only answered, that in a little  
"time

“ time his majesty would have full satisfaction on that head. But  
 “ being afterwards frequently applied to by some of the king’s confi-  
 “ dants on the same subject, he satisfied the king with this final answer,  
 “ *That he could not recall what he had written in the full persuasion of*  
 “ *his mind, that it was true; but that after his death it would be in his*  
 “ *majesty’s power to dispose of his writings, as he thought fit; but he wished*  
 “ *the king would use his discretion, and consider seriously what he should do in*  
 “ *a matter of that nature; and reflect, that though kings invested with abso-*  
 “ *lute power by GOD \* might do what they pleased, yet that TRUTH which*  
 “ *received its strength from GOD was as far superior to kings in power, as*  
 “ *GOD was greater than men.*” Thuanus Reſtitutus, p. 55.

This may be opposed against the tales told by the partizans and fa-  
 vourers of the Scottish Queen, concerning Buchanan’s repentance; and  
 his recantation on his death-bed of those parts of his history relating to  
 the adventures and exploits of that princess; concerning which Thomas  
 Ruddiman’s noble edition of Buchanan’s works may be consulted.  
 Ruddiman was a faithful editor; and, having done that part of his duty,  
 he may be allowed to indulge his spleen against a writer of Buchanan’s  
 complexion, who chose not to worship Ruddiman’s gods. We believe  
 Mr. Ruddiman never saw or heard of the first edition of the dialogue  
*De jure Regni*, &c. which we have described above, and which was cer-  
 tainly prior to that of Rosse and Charteris, dated indeed in the same year;  
 but, as far as we can learn, executed at a different press.

Buchanan’s Hist. of Scotland was first printed at Edinburgh, by Alex-  
 ander Arbuthnot, 1582, small folio; a copy of which we have now  
 before us; it has been much used, but is a fair copy: before the his-  
 tory; and after the dedication, is a copy of verses by Andrew Melvin,  
 with this title, “ In G. Buchanani Dialogum de Jure Regni apud Scotos,  
 “ et Rerum Scoticarum Historiam ab eodem conscriptam.” By this title  
 we were misled to suppose, that the Dialogue had been torn out from  
 the book, till we consulted Mr. Ruddiman, who, speaking of the several  
 editions of the dialogue, says, “ Item cum præcedentibus editionibus  
 “ [*Historiæ sc.*] præter primam Alexandri Arbuthneti.”

\* The Latin words are, *Reges cum soluta potestate a Deo constitutos, nihil non posse.* The sense of which  
 we may probably have mistaken. Buchanan could never think that kings were constituted by God with  
 absolute power.

## JOHN POYNET

“ WAS born in Kent, bred (say some) in King’s College, in Cambridge. Sure I am he was none of the foundation therein, because  
 “ not appearing in master Hatcher’s exact manuscript catalogue. Bale  
 “ is rather to be believed herein, making him to be brought up in  
 “ Queen’s college, in the same university.

“ But wherever he had his education, he arrived at admirable learning, being an exact Græcian, and most expert mathematician. He  
 “ presented king Henry VIII. with a horologium (which I might English  
 “ dial, clock, or watch; save that it is epitheted Sciotericum) observing  
 “ the shadow of the sun, and therein shewing not only the hours, but  
 “ dayes of the month, change of the moon, ebbing and flowing of the  
 “ sea, &c.

—“ His sermons so endeared him to King Edward VI. that he preferred him (whilst as yet scarce thirty-six years of age) to the bishoprick of Rochester, then of Winchester. But alas! these honors soon  
 “ got, were as soon lost; being forced to fly into High Germany in the  
 “ first of Queen Mary, where, before he was fully forty, and before  
 “ he had finished his book, begun against Thomas Martin, in defence of  
 “ Ministers’ marriage, he died at Strasburg, the 2d of August, 1556,  
 “ and was buried there with great lamentation.” Fuller’s Worthies, Kent, p. 72. after Godwin and Bale.

What more there may be about him in these two writers cited by Fuller we have not an opportunity to examine; but we have seen an extract from Davies’s *Athenæ Britannicæ*, wherein it is said, “ He had a  
 “ great hand in composing the first protestant common-prayer book of  
 “ the church of England;” which, for more reasons than one, we very much doubt.

But it was neither his mathematical skill, his sermons, nor his book against Martin, that recommended him to Mr. Hollis’s particular esteem. But,

“ A Shorte Treatise of politike pouer, and of the obedience which  
 “ subjectes owe to kynges and other ciuil Gouvernours, with an exhortacion to all true naturall Englishmen, compyled by D. I. P. B. R. W.

[i. c.]



[i. e. Doctor John Poynt, Bishop Rochester Winchester] “ 1556.  
“ pf. cxviii. It is better to trust in the LORDE than to trust in Princes.”

Of the first impression of this treatise (from which we have transcribed the title above) Mr. Hollis had a copy, in the blank leaves of which he hath written as follows :

“ This little book is full of excellent principles concerning govern-  
“ ment, and maintains the doctrine of killing tyrants ; and is the more  
“ singular for being written in such an age. T. H.”

And a little below :

“ I have read over this treatise a second time ; and do truly think it  
“ a most extraordinary and valuable performance.—It is probable the  
“ divine Milton never saw this treatise. Indeed the whole time of the  
“ civil wars, and even in the prior times of Charles’s reign, and of his  
“ father’s, many most able and excellent treatises upon government were  
“ published (not a few of which are in my own present possession), by  
“ which it appears, that the principles of government were then  
“ thoroughly discussed and known, a fact not generally apprehended  
“ by the moderns, nor by the admirers, especially, of those two fine  
“ writers, and true patriots, Algernon Sidney and Mr. Locke, T. H.”

The reason why this treatise remained so long unnoticed and unknown seems to have been, that it was printed abroad. Mr. Hollis adds to the title, as he has taken it down, “ In black letter,” but that is a mistake, occasioned by the black letter of another tract of Poynt’s bound up, and probably published along with it, consisting of no more than eight leaves, intituled, “ An answer to a certain godly mannes  
“ lettres (desiring his frendes judgment) whether it be lawful for a  
“ Christian man to be present at the popishe masse, and other super-  
“ stitious church service, 1557,” which, as appears by the oblique lines put for stops, was certainly printed abroad.

The treatise of politic power is printed in Italics ; but, as we should think, by the cast of some of the initials, and from the address to the reader (which is in black letter) not at an English press.

But however this might be, it was re-published in quarto, in the year 1642, which, for aught we know, has been as little noticed as the first impression.

Poynt :

Poynet has been suspected of favouring Sir Thomas Wyatt's insurrection. Dr. Heylin (who has been called a church of England papist) gives this account of him on that occasion: "Much more it is to be  
 " admired, that Dr. John Poynet, the late Bp. of Winchester, should be  
 " of counsel in the plot, or put himself into their camp, and attend  
 " them to the place where the carriage brake; where, when he could  
 " not work on Wyatt to desist from that unprofitable labour in remount-  
 " ing the cannon, he counselled Vanham [Vaughan] Bret, and others, to  
 " shift for themselves, took leave of his more secret friends, told them  
 " that he would pray for their good success, and took ship for Germany,  
 " where he after died \*."

Where Heylin had this account, he does not say, nor can we trace him. But such a report it seems there was; for Bp. Burnet says, "Some of our own writers say, that Poinet, the late Bp. of Winchester, was in it," [Wyat's insurrection]. "But it is certainly false, for so many prisoners being taken, it is not to be imagined but this would have been found out, and published, to make that [the protestant] religion more odious; and we cannot but think Gardiner would have taken care that he should have been attainted in the following parliament †." One might add to this, that in Throgmorton's long trial, as a conspirator with Wyatt, there is not the least hint that Poynet had any part in it.

Perhaps Poynet might not be concerned with Wyatt in any shape. But Bp. Burnet's premises will not bear his conclusion: "Wyat's undertaking was not on account of religion; *ergo*, Bp. Poynet was not in it." Had the historian read Poynet's treatise of politic power, he would have seen that the writer's principles and doctrines led to the resistance of civil as well as religious tyranny; and that Mary's match with Philip was understood by Poynet to be the introduction of tyranny into the English government; therefore he would have no scruples concerning the justice of Wyatt's insurrection.

Heylin says, "Poynet was preferred to Winchester to serve other mens turns," that is, to accommodate courtiers with leases or purchases

\* Heylin's Hist. of the Reformation, p. 205.

† Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii, p. 286.

at low rates, with the lands belonging to his fee. Of this he gives instances, and calls him, on account of these alienations, a better scholar than a bishop \*.

Burnet says, "he had 2000 marks a year in lands assigned him out of that wealthy bishoprick for his subsistence †." But this did not hinder his making leases of other lands belonging to the fee; as we learn from Fuller ‡.

Poynet was a writer of good esteem in his day, always a zealous protestant after the Reformation was set on foot. He was, according to Strype, chaplain to Abp. Cranmer, probably till he was made Bp. of Rochester, June 30, 1550. The year before he had written and published a translation of Bernard Ochin's dialogue against the usurped primacy of the pope. But the date is so expressed by Wood § that we are not certain whether he meant Ochin's Latin book or Poynet's translation.

But the work of Bp. Poynet which is most frequently mentioned by our historians is an answer to Dr. Martin, who wrote against the marriage of the clergy in 1554, according to the date in Bp. Burnet's history of the Reformation.

Wood || and Strype \*\* give the most particular accounts of Poynet's book, which must be scarce, if indeed any copies remain.

"John Ponet, or Poynet," says Wood, "came out with an answer thus intituled, *An Apology fully answering, by scriptures and antient doctors, a blasphemous book gathered by Dr. Stephen Gardiner, Dr. Richard Smyth, Albertus Pighius, and other papists, as by their books appears, and of late set forth under the name of Thomas Martyn Doctor of the Civil Law.* Printed beyond the sea, anno 1555-56, in octavo." Wood, vol. I. col. 218.

He prepared, according to Strype, "A second treatise, replenished with great learning, but lived not to finish it; the copy fell into the hands of Abp. Parker, who published it in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, with very large and excellent additions of his own." But," says Strype, "some doubt whether he were the author of this [latter] book;" which accordingly seems to be given to Parker alone by Burnet and Wood.

\* U. f. p. 101.

† Church Hist. book VII. p. 401.

‡ Ibid. 218.

§ U. f. p. 165.

§ Athen. Ox. col. 100. vol. I.

\*\* Memor. Cranmer.



Poynet was in strict friendship with Roger Ascham, who wrote to him to second his [Ascham's] application to Abp. Cranmer for a dispensation for keeping Lent: "*Peto*," says Ascham, "*ut ejus auctoritate, non amplius illaquear ea traditione qua certus ciborum delectus certis temporibus interdicitur.*" Hence it appears, that Poynet was in great esteem with Cranmer; "and," and as Strype says, "of his council in matters of Divinity."

That Poynet assisted in compiling King Edward's Liturgy, we somewhat doubt. He is neither in Heylin's nor Burnet's list. We do not find that he concerned himself much, if at all, in the unseasonable quarrels of the English exiles at Francfort. In the history of these disputes; or, as they are called in that history, the *Troubles*, Poynet is but once named, and that is on occasion of his being mentioned among others as a proper person to be superintendant of the congregation at Frankfort, whither it is certain he never went. And as he does not appear to have taken any part in the subsequent squabbles at that place, which were chiefly about the English Liturgy, we can hardly think he was so solicitous for the honour of that form as he would have been, had he been employed in the fabrication of it. See Phoenix, vol. II. p. 53.

He was better employed in writing his treatise on politike power; a book which even the diligent and indefatigable Strype seems never to have seen or heard of; for though, in the xvth chapter of the third book of his memorials of Cranmer, he mentions several tracts written by the English fugitives, in their exile, he mentions none as written by Poynet, though it is certain that he wrote both this treatise and the others against Martyn during his retreat at Straßburgh.

We have reason to believe that Mr. Hollis intended to have brought the world better acquainted with this political tract of Poynet, by publishing a new edition of it; we are sure he wished it might be done, and perhaps would have been done, had he met with the book before Baron's death.

A few short extracts from it may entertain some of our readers; and we shall begin with a remarkable passage, without determining whether it ought to give us a better or a worse opinion of the times in which our lot is fallen:

" And

“ And because public matters of a realm, that concern all and every  
 “ man’s life, wife, children, lands, goods, and whatsoever cannot be  
 “ treated on by all men, but all must put their trust in a few, men  
 “ ought to be wise, and circumspect whom they trust. For there be  
 “ too many that pass not what become of their neighbours, so they may  
 “ prosper themselves; what become of the whole realm, so their own  
 “ families may stand still. He that maketh suit to be a deputy for a  
 “ multitude, seemeth to sue for his own vain-glory or profit. Those  
 “ that send letters not to choose this man, but to choose such a man,  
 “ have in their heads more than the universal wealth of all. He that  
 “ bringeth letters to be preferred, meaneth not the benefit of them  
 “ whom he would serve. He that giveth money, and maketh great  
 “ feasts, thinketh some other fetch than the service of his neighbours.  
 “ He that refuseth or releaseth his ordinary wages, looketh for some  
 “ greater extraordinary reward. He that is always or oft at Princes’  
 “ platters, or in practisers’ palaces, cannot long continue the people’s true  
 “ Proctor.” Chap. VI.

Let us no longer say, that corrupt parliaments began with Sir Robert Walpole’s ministry.

“ Civil power,” saith Poynt, “ is a power and ordinance of God,  
 “ appointed to certain things, but no general minister over all things.  
 “ God hath not given it power over the one and the best part of man,  
 “ that is, the soul and conscience of man, but only over the other and  
 “ worst part of man, that is, the body, and those things that belong  
 “ unto this temporal life of man,” chap. IV.

His comment upon *Romans* xiii. 1. *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers*, is singular.

“ If by this word [soul] is meant every person spiritual and temporal,  
 “ man and woman, and by this word [power] the authority that kings  
 “ and princes execute, then cannot kings and princes but be contained  
 “ under the general word [soul] as well as others. And they being  
 “ but executors of God’s laws, and men’s just ordinances, be also not  
 “ exempted from them, but be bounden to be subject and obedient unto  
 “ them. For good and just laws of man be God’s power and ordi-  
 “ nances; and they are but ministers of laws and not law’s self.”

Poynet gives the following satirical portrait of Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester :

“ For albeit this doctor be now (but too late) thoroughly known,  
 “ yet it shall be requisite, that our posterity know what he was, and  
 “ by his description see how nature had shaped the outward parts  
 “ to declare what was within. This Doctor had a swart colour, an  
 “ hanging look, frowning brows, eyes an inch within the head, a nose  
 “ hooked like a buffarde, wide nostrils like an horse, ever snuffing in to  
 “ the wind, a sparrow-mouth, great paws like the devil, talons on his  
 “ feet like a grype two inches longer than the natural toes, and so tied  
 “ to with sinews that he could not abide to be touched, nor scarce suffer  
 “ them to touch the stones.”

The late Mr. Baker, the learned antiquary of St. John's College in Cambridge, questioned whether the print of Gardiner in the second volume of Burnet's History of the Reformation is genuine, and gives some plausible reasons for his doubts. But in the end, having transcribed part of the description of Gardiner's person from Poynet as above, he thinks it agrees well enough with the picture. This is the only citation we remember to have seen from this treatise of Poynet before Mr. Baker's time \*.

Mr. Baker, who was a non-juror, and had been ejected from his fellowship on that account, betrays, in these remarks on Burnet's history, something of that ill-humour which had been frequently observed in himself and his fellow-sufferers towards men of Bishop Burnet's principles.

He is not pleased, for instance, that the Bishop had not taken notice of Hooper's loyalty to Queen Mary † ; a loyalty founded, as his own was to James II. on the *jus divinum*. In consequence of which Hooper should not have complained, even when tied to the stake.

We do not find that Poynet was more disaffected to Mary's title at her accession than Hooper. But when it appeared that she turned out a detestable tyrant, his rational principles of government led him to think she had forfeited every right to sovereignty which she could possibly de-

\* See the Appendix to the third Volume of Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, p. 411.

† P. 410.



rive from her mere title; and that she ought therefore to have been deposed. And an honest Whig had as much reason to quarrel with Burnet for not doing honour to Dr. Poynet, on account of his political principles, which, by the way, were Bp. Burnet's own.

In the *Scaligerana secunda*, mention is made of a tract, intituled, *Diallaſticon*, aſcribed by Scaliger to Sir Anthony Cook, preceptor to Edward VI. but P. Colomies ſays, in a note upon that paſſage, “ D'autres attribuent ce livre à Jean Poynet eveſque de Winton en Angleterre, “ qui mourut a Straſbourg.”

Mr. Defmaizeaux adds, “ Le Diallaſticon Eucharistiæ de Reali præfentia, parut en 1576 in 8vo. Dans le catalogue de la Bibliothèque Bodleienne, on a joint a ce titre, la remarque ſuivante; *author perhibetur Dominus Cooke, præceptor Edward VI: secundum alios, est Dominus Poinet* \*.”

Sir Anthony Cooke was the first school-master of Edward VI. according to Fuller, Hayward, and others. And yet Bp. Burnet tells us, that Edward “ continued under the charge and care of the women till he “ was fix years old; and that then he was put under the government “ of Dr. Cox and Mr. Cheek. The one was to be his preceptor for “ his manners and knowledge of philosophy, the other for the tongues “ and mathematicks;” which he takes from the first article of king Edward's journal, written with his own hand. Could the prince be ignorant, or could he forget, that he had received the first rudiments of learning from Sir Anthony Cooke?

Sir Anthony Cooke was certainly a man of learning; Camden ſays, “ he was Inſtitutor Pueritiæ Edwardi Sexti †.” Probably his learning was of the grammatical or claſſical kind, rather than the theological. We conjecture, inſtead of Cooki, we ſhould read Coxi, both in the *Scaligerana* and in the Bodleian Catalogue. Cox and Poynet were fellow exiles at Straſburgh, and might be jointly concerned in a work of that kind. Cox had given his opinion upon the ſubject among thoſe of the biſhops; as may be ſeen in Burnet, Reform. vol. II. Collect. N° 25. And Poynet accompanied Cranmer and Ridley in that converſation they had with

\* *Scaligerana secunda*, Amſterdam, 1740, p. 277.

† *Eliz.* 265.

King Edward about tolerating Queen Mary in the use of the mass, which proves that these two bishops thought Poynt a very competent judge of the question.

May we be indulged in another conjecture? Sir Anthony Cooke died 1576, the very year that this *Diallaſticon* was published. Poynt might have left this posthumous work behind him in manuscript, when he died at Straßburgh. Sturmius, who resided there, might have it in his hands, and send it to Sir Anthony Cooke, with whom he corresponded, as appears in the collection of Ascham's Letters; and Sir Anthony's successors might publish it. But we own this is too precarious to be positively adopted. We rather depend on the first solution.

"Cooki præceptoris Edvardi Sexti *Diallaſticon*," says Scaliger. "Non vixit tempore Bertrami, quia ante 150 annos non erat in usu vox illa *Diallaſticon*."

Scaliger meant the word *transubstantiation*, for which *Διαλλακτικόν* is an unexceptionable word, though perhaps only found thus compounded in this one instance.

#### EDMOND LUDLOW.

IN what esteem this steady republican was with Mr. Hollis will appear by a *fac simile* of his monument procured by him from Switzerland, which will be given in the Appendix, with some other papers relative to the protection he and his fellow exiles obtained from the Lords of Vevay.

Richard Baron procured a noble edition of Ludlow's memorials, in folio, 1751. To which he prefixed a preface, which adds very little to the information the public had before of this extraordinary man. One might almost say the same of Ludlow's article in the *Biographia Britannica*.

Bp. Burnet is at a loss to reconcile Ludlow's principles in approving the force put upon the Parliament in December 1648, with his condemning the force that Cromwell and the army put upon the house. The Bishop gives a solution indeed, but we apprehend not the true one.

The members excluded the first time were plainly aiming to reinstate the King in his office. Ludlow understood this to be betraying the  
cause

cause of the people, to whom undoubtedly the trust of government reverts, when their delegates to parliament prove unfaithful to the confidence reposed in them. It is indeed to be wished there were some other effectual method of superseding a corrupt representative rather than an armed force; but the consequences of such violence are not more to be dreaded by the people than the ordinances of a suborned majority, which, in Mr. Locke's opinion, is cutting government up by the roots.

Let us change Bp. Burnet's terms, and substitute *the people*, instead of *the army*; and then we shall find Ludlow's principles not only true, but laudable.

"He [Ludlow] thought, when *the people* judged the parliament was "in the wrong, they might use violence, but not otherwise; which "gives the people a superior authority, and an inspection into the proceedings of the parliament." And what heresy is in that?

On the other hand, Cromwell's attempt was upon a parliament which, Ludlow thought, was doing their duty to the people, and were, on that second occasion, forcibly opposed to make way for an usurper's arbitrary and ambitious projects.

Ludlow opposed Charles and Cromwell on the very same patriotic principle. If Cromwell had been taken off by the same sort of judgment that condemned Charles to the block, would any one of the loyal party have called Ludlow, and his associates, by the name of *Regicides*? But Charles, they would say, was a king lawfully constituted. Be that as you please, when he deviated from the duty of a king, he ceased to be a king, and became a tyrant; for all political casuists of common sense have stated an essential difference between a king and a tyrant; and if Charles did not come within the description of the latter, there never was such an animal as a tyrant in the world. Call Edmond Ludlow, if you please, a tyrannicide, and then dispute about his merit as long as you please.

Among the blemishes of king William's reign is reckoned the impunity of delinquents in the two former reigns, and the neglect of the sufferers under the two profligate brothers before the Revolution. When Ludlow appeared in England, to offer his service in the Irish war, Seymour had interest enough in the House of Commons, to procure an address



address to the king, “that he would be pleased to put out a proclamation  
“for the apprehending of Colonel Ludlow, attainted for the murder of  
“Charles I.” This proclamation may be seen in the Appendix.

Colonel Ludlow makes no mention of this journey into England; or  
of the proclamation in his memoirs. But we have been informed, that  
Ludlow had private notice from the King himself of this address, re-  
commending to him to shift for himself. We wish we could ascertain  
this fact for the honour of king William.

Bp. Kennet is justly reprehensible for his partiality with respect to  
Ludlow and his fellows in his Register. But we shall have occasion to  
consider his casuistry on the means by which the Restoration was brought  
about; and therefore leave him for the present.

“In the beginning of March 1690 was published a pernicious pam-  
phlet, intituled, *A Letter from Major General Ludlow to Sir E. S.*  
“*[Seymour] comparing the tyranny of the first four years of K. Charles*  
“*the Martyr, with the tyranny of the four years reign of the late abdicated*  
“*King James II. Occasioned by reading Dr. Pelling’s Leud Harangues*  
“*upon the 30th of January, being the anniversary, or general Madding-*  
“*day.* Amsterd. alias Lond. 1691. in four sheets, in quarto. Written  
“as a preface to a larger work to come, to justify the murder of King  
“Charles I. not by the said Ludlow, but by some malevolent person in  
“England \*.”

This pamphlet we have not seen. But we have now before us ano-  
ther, intituled, “*A Letter from General Ludlow to Dr. Hollingworth,*  
“*their Majesty’s Chaplain at St. Botolph, Aldgate, defending his former*  
“*Letter to Sir E. S. which compared the tyranny of the first four years*  
“*of king Charles the Martyr with the tyranny of the four years of the*  
“*late abdicated king; and vindicating the parliament which began in No-*  
“*vember, 1640.*” Occasioned by the lies and scandals of many bad men  
of this age.—*Veritas emerget Vixtrix.* “I acknowledge it were better,  
“if we could have Job’s wish, that this day should perish, that dark-  
“ness and the shadow of death should cover it, that it should not see  
“the dawning of the day, nor should the light shine upon it. It were  
“better to strike it out of our Kalendar, and to make our January de-  
“termine at the 29th, and add these remaining days to February.” Dr.

\* Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. Fa<sup>ci</sup>, p. 267.

Burnet, Bp. of Salisbury, his sermon at St. Laurence-Church, London, Jan. 30. 1680. Amsterdam, printed Anno Dom. 1692.

We agree with Wood (who seems never to have seen or known of this second letter) that the letter to Sir E. S. is to be classed among the *Pseudepigrapha*; nor do we think otherwise of this inscribed to Dr. Hollingworth. It is however the work of a good writer; of somebody who perfectly knew the intrigues of Charles the First's court and ministers, and has mentioned several interesting particulars not noticed by our general historians; and a very slender proof, added to our own judgment of the stile, would satisfy us that it was the work of the great Lord SOMERS, in his early days.

Among Mr. Hollis's papers, we find the following note:

"An original drawing of Lieutenant General Ludlow, taken from the life when in England, on the Revolution, by R. White, and purchased by me, 1754, of Mr. George Vertue, engraver, in Brownlow-street, Drury-lane. T. H." This is a pencil-drawing.

#### JOHN TRENCHARD.

THIS gentleman's writings were in high esteem with Mr. Hollis, particularly those on the subject of standing armies. He was a patriot, the son of a patriot, of whom the best account we have seen is in Bishop Burnet's History of his Own Times. John Trenchard the father was made secretary of state after the Revolution, and we suppose was knighted on that occasion. There is strong presumptive proof that he was conscious of the supposed conspiracy which was fatal to Lord Ruffel, who however, on his trial, declared he had no knowledge of Trenchard.

There is a mistaken reference in the margin of the first edition of the Biographia Britannica, article Armstrong, quoting Sheppherd's evidence on Lord Ruffel's trial for Armstrong's discourse concerning Trenchard. Sheppherd says not a word of Trenchard; Rumsley and Howard are the witnesses that speak of him. This mistake stands uncorrected in the new edition of the first volume of that work. "He was the first man," according to Bp. Burnet, "that moved for the exclusion in the House of Commons." Hist. O. T. Vol. I. 548.

This last circumstance certainly merited some respectful mention of the late Mr. Trenchard's father, from Mr. Gordon, in his long preface to Cato's letters, which, however, with all its length, is very unsatisfactory to a reader who desires to know something more of Mr. Trenchard's personal history and connections than is contained in a fulsome panegyric, stuffed with repetitions of Mr. Trenchard's good qualities, in a variety of expression, calculated only to give the reader an high opinion of Mr. Gordon's rhetorical talents.

White Kennet, in the days of his *childhood*, published a pamphlet, intituled, "A Letter from a student at Oxford to a friend in the country, concerning the approaching parliament, in vindication of his Majesty, the Church of England, and the University, 1680-81." They who consult the history of that period will easily perceive, that this was a vindication of the unwarrantable attempts of Charles II. and his counsellors, against the constitution. Mr. Trenchard the father, then member for Taunton, took great pains to discover the author, and to bring him to condign punishment; but Kennet escaped for that time, by the dissolution of the parliament; and about eight years after *he put away his childish things*.

"Nor is it any discredit to the present administration," says Mr. Gordon, "that Mr. Trenchard was more partial to it than I ever knew him to any other;" telling us, at the same time, that "he had not one view to himself\*." But who shall answer that Mr. Gordon had none for himself in throwing out this hint, that he had not been spoiled by bad company?

This preface, we apprehend, was written in the year 1724, not long before Mr. Gordon found his account in shewing his own partiality for the then present ministry; and was complimented on his success in a short epigram by Archibald Duke of Argyle, which was carefully preserved by Mr. Hollis, and will be found among the inscriptions.

We cannot avoid making a remark on another passage of this preface:

"Whatever offence the high claimers of spiritual dominion gave Mr. Trenchard, he was sincerely for preserving the established church,

\* Preface, p. xxvii.

"and



“ and would have heartily opposed any attempt to alter it. He was  
 “ against all levelling in church and state, &c.—The establishment was  
 “ his standard, and he was only for pulling down those who would soar  
 “ above it, and trample upon it \*.”

If this was really Mr. Trenchard's principle, he must either have been very imperfectly acquainted with the establishment, or have knowingly and wilfully injured the high claimers under it. There are very few of these claims mentioned and opposed in the Independent Whig which are not authorized by the establishment. And yet Mr. Trenchard would have heartily opposed ANY attempt to alter it. And indeed no great wonder, if, as Mr. Gordon has stated the case, Mr. Trenchard knew no difference between altering the establishment, and pulling it down.

On the other hand, Mrs. Macaulay has justly observed, that the establishment stands at this hour just as Abp. Laud left it. This, one would think, Mr. Trenchard should have known ; and if he did know it, what right had he to be offended with, or to maltreat those who asserted the claims and rights which the establishment gave them ; *that* establishment which he would not consent to have altered at any rate ?

But whether Mr. Gordon has misrepresented Mr. Trenchard's knowledge and judgment or not, it is a melancholy truth, that politicians, even those among them who, in other instances, are strenuous assertors of the rights and claims of their fellow-subjects, give themselves too little trouble to understand the nature of church-establishments ; and in what respects they encroach on religious liberty.

If the members of certain assemblies where some points of church-discipline have been debated since Mr. Trenchard's time, had been well informed upon what foundation the establishment of the church of England stands, it is not possible that so many absurdities should have been advanced in those assemblies upon the subject ; some of them by men of the soundest sense, and the most liberal principles in other matters. But the contemplation is mortifying, and it is irksome to pursue it.

We are told, in the Supplement to the Biographia Britannica, that Mr. Gordon married Mr. Trenchard's widow ; and that the Lady survived Mr. Gordon†, and was living when that Supplement was published, in 1766.

\* Preface, p. xli.

† He died July 28, 1750. See the *Supplement to Swift*.

These circumstances leave us without a doubt, that Mr. Gordon might have given the world a more satisfactory account of Mr. Trenchard. We shall give a remarkable instance of his omissions by and by.

In the mean time, whatever better information might be had of this worthy man, we would not chuse to forestall the justice that we are sure will be done to his character by the learned, impartial, and accurate undertakers of the new edition of the *Biographia Britannica*, who, as we are informed, have been supplied with curious and authentic materials for that purpose.

The following character of this patriot has been communicated to us without any circumstance to authenticate it, either by naming the author, or referring to any book from whence it may be taken.

“ Trenchard was a man whose general knowledge made him the best patron of men of Science, whose love for virtue, for liberty, and his country, made him write or dictate the best part of Cato’s Letters, and whose zeal for pure and practical religion made him laugh out of countenance all the austerities, fopperies, and superstitions with which foolish or knavish men had disfigured and disgraced it, in his incomparable Independent Whig. And what is still more strange, and to most incredible, who condescended to accept the most lucrative office in the state, provided the salary of that and others were reduced from some thousands to a few hundred pounds a year, enough to pay men qualified, but not to tempt the disqualified to engage in such offices, and who would not submit to accept any employment, but upon these terms, purely to serve his country.”

We have transcribed this paper faithfully, that is, literally, merely to give some future memorialist an opportunity of ascertaining the facts here mentioned, and to correct the language in which they are announced. Perhaps it might be the work of some of Mr. Trenchard’s acquaintance.

The compilers of the Supplement to the *Biographia Britannica* have quoted Gordon’s preface to Cato’s Letters, for a fact which we cannot find mentioned in that preface; viz. that “ Mr. Trenchard left no writings at all behind him, except two or three loose papers, once intended for Cato’s letters \*.”

\* The edition we use of Cato’s Letters, and of the Preface before them, is that of 1724. The circumstance mentioned above may be in some other edition of the Preface in edit. 1755.

These loose papers we take to be the seven Essays published by Baron in 1755, *On Miracles*, *on Treaties*, *on Elections*, *on Controverted Elections*, *on Offices*, and *Corruption*, *on Practicable men*, *on Frugality*. In an advertisement prefixed to these essays we are told, that “they were found in the study of the late JOHN MILNER, Esq. and were communicated to the editor, at his earnest request.”

It does not appear, from the first of these essays, what Mr. Trenchard really thought of the miracles of the New Testament. If he exerted his sagacity in examining the establishment of the church of England; it is impossible he should not see it was unfavourable to Christianity. We therefore conclude, that he was something of a sceptic, and that his reasons for not altering the establishment were of the political kind, conformably to the conduct of most of our modern Deists, who, thinking religion necessary for the government of the mob, do not concern themselves about the form of it; but esteem whatever of the sort is established, as good for the purpose as any.

#### RICHARD BARON.

WE have said so much of this remarkable man in the body of our Memoirs, that we have only to add a few particulars, which could not have been otherwise specified without interrupting the narrative improperly.

Baron was a most useful man to the cause of liberty civil and religious; “He was born at Leeds in Yorkshire, and was educated at Glasgow in Scotland, and on his leaving that university received an handsome testimonial from the late celebrated professor Hutcheson, of his good behaviour during his stay there.”

He corrected the folio edition of A. Sidney’s Discourses on Government, published in the year 1751, and that of the Memoirs of Ludlow, published likewise in 1751. He discovered and republished the second edition of Milton’s Iconoclastes, as we have mentioned in the Memoirs. He likewise republished Nedham’s “Excellency of a Free State,” with a preface 1767; and, we believe, under the encouragement of Mr. Hollis.

His account of the disaffection of the clergy in the town and neighbourhood of Leeds to Milton’s prose-works, exhibited in the preface to  
his



his edition of *Iconoclastes*, was highly resented and censured on the blue cover of one of the numbers of the *Monthly Review*; to which Mr. Baron answered with so much spirit, and with such convincing intimations that he had still more authentic information, that the controversy went no further; and, indeed, the known zeal and principles of an eminent clerk in that part of the world, who was supposed to have penned the answer to Baron, left no room to doubt, with any of his acquaintance, that he would have any objection to sacrifice Milton to the manes of the Royal Martyr.

Baron's revising and publishing Milton's prose-works in two volumes, quarto, we have mentioned before; he had only ten guineas for his labour, but undertook it, as he said, "for the love he bore to the author;" which Mr. Millar, with the prudent œconomy of a bookseller, might think a full compensation for the service, without the *superfluous ten guineas*.

Mr. Baron was a great collector of books on the subject of public and constitutional liberty, several of which he communicated to Mr. Hollis, with manuscript notes or memorandums of his own in the blank pages, in which he was not always in the right.

Among others, Mr. Baron picked up a curious pamphlet, of thirteen quarto pages, intitled, "A Paradox, that designe upon Religion was not the cause of state mis-government; but an effect of it. London, printed for T. W. 1664."

In the title-page of this book Mr. Baron wrote, "A most extraordinary tract, worthy of being for ever preserved." The proof indeed is singular, but sufficiently established by facts to do credit to the author for his sagacity.

The jealousy of the subjects in Charles the First's time, was founded upon an apprehension that the king intended to introduce popery, as more favourable to his tyrannical purposes than the protestant religion. But popery, the Paradox observes, was not the primary object of the king, nor of his high-flying ministers; and he affirms, that the people, in opposing the encroachments of popery, as a principal object of their enmity, misapplied their attention, which should have been directed, in the first place, to the despotic attempts to extend the prerogative in civil matters beyond the limits of the fundamental laws of the English government.

government. And he proceeds to shew, that in fact the doctrines of the church of England were full as favourable to the absolute power of kings as popery itself.

“In these latter times,” says this author, “our protestant bishops were  
 “ wholly biased at the king’s side, and mere servants to the preroga-  
 “ tive, against all the interests of the commonwealth : they never in  
 “ parliament gave vote contrary to any of the king’s desires, how pre-  
 “ judicial soever it were to the kingdom in general, inasmuch as the  
 “ king counted them a sure part of his strength, in the Lords’ House,  
 “ to all purposes ; and when their voices in parliament were lately to be  
 “ taken away, it was a common speech of the courtiers, that his Ma-  
 “ jesty was much weakened, by losing six and twenty voices. But  
 “ consider now what they have preached and printed concerning mo-  
 “ narchy, and you will wonder that rational men, in any kingdom, to  
 “ flatter princes, should make all mankind else of so base a consideration  
 “ as if princes, as one says, differed from other men in kind and na-  
 “ ture, no less than a shepherd from his sheep, or other herdsman  
 “ from his cattle.”

To support his proposition he appeals to a book printed at Oxford that same year [1644] and dedicated to the marquis of Ormond, intituled, *Sacrofancta Regum Majestas* ; from which, for a taste, it will be sufficient to select one of the author’s positions, from fifteen quoted in the paradox.

“ *Salus regis* is to be preferred before *Salus populi*, for it hath the  
 “ prerogative like to the first table, and *Salus populi* as the second.”

The author of the Paradox ascribes this book to a bishop, which, considering the writer’s manner of sporting with the two tables of the decalogue, is not unlikely to be the case.

The author of the Paradox mentions another book of a Mr. Robert Bayley a Scottish minister intituled *Αντοκατακρίσις* *Laudensium*, written in opposition to the *Sacrofancta*, &c. “Where you may see,” says he,  
 “ what faire approaches they [Laud, Montague, Pocklington, Heylin,  
 “ &c.] in many points of doctrine, make toward the church of Rome,  
 “ with what reverence they speak of her, and with what scorn they  
 “ name the protestant churches and authors, under the stile of puritans.  
 “ But this proves not that their design was religion, but rather tempo-  
 “ ral

“ ral ends ; for these very men have written bitterly against the church  
 “ of Rome ; and most of them have professed, that the puritans did not  
 “ so far, nor fundamentally, dissent from their opinions, as the papists  
 “ did. But it is true, that the puritans did go more cross to their tem-  
 “ poral ends, pomp, and revenue, than the papists would have done. So  
 “ that extremity of hatred against the puritan, though he were nearer  
 “ to them in matter of religion, caused them to make these approaches  
 “ towards the papist, as being not so great an enemy to their temporal  
 “ promotion. So that we see religion was no more the end of their ex-  
 “ orbitant actions than it was of injustice in the great statesmen who  
 “ have laboured in the same disease in all ages and religions, when-  
 “ soever it hath pleased God, by such instruments, to punish the sins of  
 “ any nation.”

A fair genealogy ! deriving popery from paganism, and protestant churchism from Popery. Whether we are undergoing a punishment of the like sort for our sins let others judge. We shall only say, that if that is the case it is high time we should repent ; and, by some means or other, prevent any farther infection from these *diseased* instruments.

Mr. Hollis was desirous of procuring these two last-mentioned books : whether he succeeded or not, does not appear. When he inquired after such performances, it was not with a view to station them in his own library, as curiosities ; but to present them to such writers as he hoped might turn the contents of them to the benefit of the public.

The doctrines of this *Sacrofancta Regum Majestas*, were opposed and confuted in a most sensible and masterly tract, intituled, *Jus Populi* ; one of the best written pamphlets of those times : in the same tract also the author remarks, upon a sermon preached at Oxford, upon Romans xiii. 1, 2, &c. by Abp. Usher, and confutes the inferences the primate drew from his text, with great ability.

Baron often gave his opinion of the books he met with at hazard.

Mr. Hollis, April, 1759, bought a copy of “ Sadler’s Rights of the  
 “ Kingdom,” quarto, printed by Richard Bishop, London, 1649. out  
 of the library of Dr. Ward of Gresham College. In it was written,  
 “ This is the first and best edition. There was another by Starkey and  
 “ Kidgel, but curtailed, because the times would not bear it ; though,  
 “ as



“ as I take it, Mr. Starkey was troubled about printing of it.” Mr. Hollis thought this note was in the hand-writing of Dr. Ward’s father.

The fashion of curtailing obnoxious books was prevalent during the whole reign of Charles II. But it is not easy to discover what passages in this tract of Sadler’s could be less obnoxious to the statesmen of that time, than any other. Starkey might think he had sufficiently taken out the sting, to procure for the book a fair and unmolested sale. But we see he was mistaken, and was not aware of the tendency of court politics in 1682, when the whole influence of government was applied to make way for the succession of a popish and arbitrary tyrant, who in those days was much more the chief magistrate than the king himself; and why, instead of prosecuting the printer, the whole edition of such a book was not seized, and burnt by the hangman, is not easily to be accounted for.

But it sometimes happened, in this castrating age, that a new edition of a book of general utility, with very few passages obnoxious to the press-hunters, and those not necessarily connected with the main subject, and easily separable from it, would be very acceptable to the public, and at the same time published without any even suspicious marks of the pruning knife.

Of this we met with a remarkable instance in the London Chronicle, Nov. 13, 1770.

Gage’s Survey of the West Indies went through two folio editions, the latter in 1657, consisting of twenty-two chapters, and a dedication prefixed to Sir Thomas Fairfax, Lord Fairfax of Cameron. In 1702 (and perhaps before) an octavo edition of this work was published, in which the dedication to Lord Fairfax was turned into a preface to the reader, and the whole twenty-second chapter omitted. In the former, such passages as did honour and credit to this worthy nobleman are expunged, and the rest accommodated to the style of an address to readers in general. But the twenty-second chapter, containing an account of the author’s conversation, with several particulars concerning the hopes the papalins had of Laud’s favourable intentions towards them, not being so capable of transmutation as the epistle at the beginning, was wholly left out.

This piece of roguery was however detected and exposed in 1712 by an honest and benevolent hand, who published the castrated chapter in an octavo pamphlet, with an Advertisement, properly expressing the writer's indignation at the vile stiflers of such evidence, to confront the practisers and promoters of ecclesiastical usurpation, then in their full career, with the countenance of the court, to the establishment of a complete tyranny over the consciences of their deluded flocks.

We select this instance from many others, chiefly for the sake of the coincidence of the editor's sentiments with those of the Paradox above-mentioned, one sample of which we shall here transcribe :

“ It is not pretended that Laud approved of the doctrinal articles of  
 “ the church of Rome ; but it is possible that one who dislikes many  
 “ points of the Romish faith, may yet be very fond of introducing her  
 “ tyrannical government, and, in order to it, of amusing the poor laity  
 “ with the long train of her gaudy and mysterious ceremonies ; that  
 “ while they stand fondly gazing at this lure, and are busied about im-  
 “ pertinences, they may the more easily be circumvented into irrecover-  
 “ able bondage by men of deeper but more mischievous designs.”

But to return to Baron. In a MS. note written in Mr. Hollis's copy of Sadler's Rights, &c. he says :

“ This book was also printed in this year [1649] in 12mo, and upon  
 “ the arguments and facts contained in it the great Milton proceeded in  
 “ his glorious vindication of liberty and the commonwealth. O, Fair  
 “ Britannia, hail ! R. Baron.”

Baron easily threw off such insinuations as this, and thought himself, no doubt, very sagacious in the discovery. But where is the evidence of Milton's making such use of Sadler's book ?

But this is still more pardonable than what follows.

Mr. Hollis got, by Mr. Baron's means, a book, intituled, “ The three  
 “ Conformities, or the Harmony and Agreement of the Romish-church  
 “ with Gentilisme, Judaisme, and auncient Heresies. Written in French  
 “ by Francis de G. Croy Arth. newly translated into English ; scene, pe-  
 “ rused, and allowed. London, 1620.” Quarto.

“ This book is very curious,” says Baron, “ being the first on the sub-  
 “ ject ; and was of use to Dr. Middleton in [composing] his letter from  
 “ Rome, although he has not once named or cited the book.”

In

In the first place, it is certain that De Croy's book was not the first upon the subject; for so early as the year 1542 a tract was published, intituled, "De la difference entre les superstitions et idolatries des anciens Gentilz et Payens, et les erreurs et abuz, qui sont entre ceux qui s'appellent Chrétiens." Ducatiana, vol. ii. p. 262. Duchat quotes from this book a sarcastic expression concerning the Pope's Bulls; whence we conjecture, that pagan superstitions and idolatries were objected to the church of Rome by the author.

It is not unlikely that De Croy might take the hint of writing on this subject from Joseph Scaliger.

"Veteres Christiani," says Scaliger, "non contenti iis ceremoniis quas Christus et apostoli in ecclesia Christi statuerant, mille alias plane paganas introduxerunt, quod possum facile in omnibus ceremoniis [papistis] ostendere; nec cuivis id licet, sed tantum totius antiquitatis peritissimis \*."

On which Tanaquil Faber remarks, "Primos illos Christianos nugarum paganicarum plenos fuisse, multa ex veteri historia afferri possunt unde probetur. Si quis hoc argumentum tractare volet, rem sine omni labore effectam dabit modo si delirantis Gentilismi nœnias et somnia apud optimos auctores legerit. Sed quod D. Pauli temporibus Βδελυγμα erat, id tandem ευσεβημα factum fuit. En quo conversa res est! Qui mysteria Cereris Eleusiniæ, et sacrorum orphicorum animalia nugamenta noverit, is facile credat non temere judicasse Josephum Scaligerum †."

This is an honest and a just remark, and may help us to account for the tendernefs of Protestants upon this subject, before this book of Mr. De Croy. It was not the difficulty of the subject which withheld their pens, but the apprehension of reflecting disgrace upon the first Christians for adopting the follies or impieties of paganism. It was easy to see, that JESUS and PAUL would have rejected as abomination and impiety what the early Christians turned into reasonable and pious worship; and under their example the papists fought securely in defence of their superstitious and idolatrous ceremonies.

\* Prima Scaligerana, Amsterdam, 1740. p. 49.

† Ibid. p. 50.



The translation of Monsieur De Croy's book appeared in the year 1620; what is the date of the French original we know not; but we suppose it must have been posterior to Casaubon's Exercitationes in Baronium. Casaubon died in 1614, and his Exercitationes were printed at London early in the same year \*, and contain a number of instances of the ceremonies and customs of the early Christians, taken from those of Jews and Pagans; and, as far as we know, Casaubon was the first Protestant writer who was inclined to turn these βδελυγματα into ευσεβη-ματα. He commends the prudence of the fathers in converting many pagan institutions to the purposes of piety †. Scaliger and Le Fevre were of a different opinion. But with Grotius and Laud these were matters of venerable antiquity, and from that time have been as profitable in certain protestant establishments as they had been to the papal church before Luther's reformation.

Mr. De Croy might therefore avail himself of Casaubon's facts, without adopting his sentiments on them, and without incurring the reproach of a plagiary ‡. And indeed we think it full as likely that Dr. Middleton might pilfer from Casaubon as from De Croy. But Baron was rash, and in this instance undoubtedly injurious to Middleton; who, had he wanted vouchers, had much better at hand than De Croy §.

Mr. Bayle, in his letter, printed at the end of Deckher's book "De Scriptis adespotis," mentions a French book of these conformities, written by Peter Muffardus; of which we have the following account from Mr. Demaizeau:

\* See Casaubon's Epist. Amstelodami, 1709. Epist. 93r.

† See the Postscript to the same letter.

‡ There is a Lyric Ode, in Latin, in the English translation, to Monf. de Croy, dated 1604, on his book, which is the only date can be found.

§ See Dr. Middleton's Preface to his Letter from Rome, addressed to the reader: "Many writers, I know," (says the Doctor) "have treated the same subject before me; some of which I have never seen; but those whom I have looked into handle it in so different a manner from what I have pursued, that I am under no apprehension of being thought a plagiary, or to have undertaken a province already occupied. My observations are grounded on facts, of which I have been an eye-witness myself, and which others perhaps had not the opportunity of examining personally, or considering so particularly, as I have done: and in my present representation of them, I have not claimed the allowed privilege of a traveller, to be believed on my own word, but for each article charged on the church of Rome, have generally produced such vouchers as they themselves will allow to be authentic." P. cxviii. of the octavo edition, 1741.

The best apology that can be made for Baron would be, a supposition that he overlooked this passage.

“Hoc” [speaking of Scaliger’s remark] “fuisse ostendit Petrus Musfardus, in libro cui titulus, *Les conformitez des ceremonies modernes avec les anciennes. Ou il est prouvé par des autoritez incontestables, que les ceremonies de l’Eglise Romaine sont empruntées des Payens.* Qui liber prodiit Genevæ, 1667, in 8vo. et recusatus est Lugduni Batavorum eodem anno, in 12mo \*.”

We have some suspicion that Mr. Baron’s anecdotes were not always well authenticated; such we think is the following:

Baron had in his library Oldmixon’s *Memoirs of the Prets*, 1741, in a blank leaf of which was the following memorandum:

“It is said, when Mr. Oldmixon waited upon the Duke of Newcastle for leave to dedicate to him his *History of the Stuarts*, the Duke said, *What! do you think that I will patronize your damn’d truths?* But at the same time made him a present.” But, however, it seems *it was said*, and farther Baron was not answerable for it.

Here is another: “Mr. Budgell, to whom Dr. Tindal gave his papers, is generally supposed (through the temptation of his narrow circumstances) to have sold the second volume [of *Christianity as old as the Creation*] for £.500, to Dr. Gibson Bp. of London, who destroyed it.” R. B.

This, for the honour of Bishop Gibson, we hope is apocryphal. Some part of this second volume was printed as far as page 32; and, in a paper now before us, it is said, there were printed 110 more, to which of these numbers of pages Mr. Baron’s following note relates we are not certain, having never seen the book.

\* Scaligerana prima ubi supra. Mr. Bayle, in the letter above referred to, gives the following particulars of this book, and its author: “This book, if you abide by the title-page, was printed at Leyden, for John Sambix, in the year 1667; but, if you pursue your enquiries farther, you will find it was printed at Geneva. It is the work of Petrus Musfardus, a man of singular merit of that city, who, after he had officiated as a minister of the word of God at Lyons in France with high reputation, was obliged to relinquish that station, upon the King of France’s edict, commanding all ministers of the Reformed Religion, who were foreigners, to depart the kingdom. Upon which he retired to his own native country; and being invited to London, he became preacher to the French Protestants there, and continued in that capacity as long as he lived.” Vid. Petri Bælii *Epistolam Theodoro Janfonio, Med. Doctori*, 1686. printed at the end of *Johannis Deckherri de Scriptis adeptis, &c. Conjectura*, p. 396, 397.

It seems Mr. Bayle did not know that the book was printed both at Leyden and Geneva in the same year.

“ Note, This is all that was printed of Tindal’s second volume of  
 “ Christianity as old as the Creation ; of which a very small number  
 “ of copies passed through the press. This was given me by Dr. Fos-  
 “ ter, 1741. R. B.”

Dr. Foster, however, wrote against Tindal’s first volume in his  
 “ *Usefulness, Truth, and Excellency, of the Christian Revelation Defended.*”

Mr. Hollis bought several of Mr. Baron’s books, when his library was  
 sold, and this among the rest. As the will, produced by Budgell and  
 his confederates after Matthew Tindal’s death, was set aside, there was  
 no likelihood of recovering the remainder of this work. Budgell, though  
 he possessed it, durst not proceed to publish it, after sentence given  
 against the will ; and was poor and mean enough to make his own ad-  
 vantage of it privately if he could. Whether the Bp. of London’s zeal  
 against Tindal’s principles would justify his purchase of it in the man-  
 ner and for the purpose above-mentioned, we leave to more experienced  
 casuists.

In 1716 was published the second edition of a book, intituled, “ The  
 “ History of the Kings of Israel and Judah,” 12mo ; in Mr. Baron’s  
 copy of this book was written, “ This book was first published in quarto,  
 “ by order of the long parliament, 1641 ; and re-published by Mr.  
 “ Thomas Bradbury a dissenting minister. The preface to this second  
 “ edition is artfully written in the character of a tory and high-church-  
 “ man, to induce men of those principles to read the book. R. B.”

We find this history has been believed to be the work of Sir Anthony  
 Weldon, upon what authority we know not. Wood, in a pretty long  
 account he gives of Sir Anthony \*, seems to have had no knowledge of  
 his writing such a book.

As the book was republished by Mr. Bradbury, we presume (for we  
 have never seen it) that it is by no means favourable to monarchy.

In Whitelock’s Memorials is the following entry, under October 24,  
 1648 : “ Order for five hundred pounds for Sir Anthony Weldon, in  
 “ satisfaction for his losses by the Kentish rebels, against whom he was  
 “ very active.” And Wood says, that “ he sided with the long parlia-

\* Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 729, 730, under the article *Miles Smith*.



“ment out of discontent; and when the wars were ended was a committee-man of Kent, and mostly chairman of that committee.”

Mr. Bradbury, commonly called Tom Bradbury, was much admired by Baron, and was of the same turn with respect to civil and ecclesiastical politics. Bradbury wrote a satirical receipt for a thirtieth of January sermon, which has been printed more than once; it was calculated to ridicule the highflying stile of the preachers on that anniversary, who idolized the unhappy monarch for his services to the church. Toland's reflections on those occasional discourses are judicious :

“If the extravagancies of those sermons,” says he, “had terminated with the late reign, few people, perhaps, would trouble themselves now about what is past, unless constrained to it by some officious chaplain; but they cannot endure to hear the members of the parliament of 40 so infamously branded, considering how lately they were obliged themselves to assert their laws and liberties against the martyr's son, who violated and broke them at his pleasure. And in this sense many were of opinion that king Charles's blood lay heavy on the nation, which made them, for the ease of the same, to shake off the burden of king James.” AMYNTOR, 1699. p. 165, 166.

Baron, probably from an ambition of figuring in the same line with Bradbury, gave the public his sentiments in the following squib, which we transcribe from a little paper, elegantly printed, perhaps by the care of Mr. Hollis :

“A TOAST FOR JANVARY XXX.

“*By the late Rev. Richard Baron, Author and Editor of many publications, in behalf of civil and religious Liberty.*

“May all statesmen that would raise the King's prerogative upon the ruins of public liberty meet the fate of Lord Strafford.

“May all priests that would advance church power upon the belly of conscience, go to the block like Abp. Laud.

“And may all kings that would hearken to such statesmen and such priests have their heads chopt off like Charles the First.”

When Baron conceived these Bacchanalian prayers does not appear; certainly long enough ago to assure us, they were blown away without reaching the place of their destination, otherwise many a poor statesman and priest had found employment for the headsmen.

Baron

Baron is mentioned in this note as an author. Of his authorship we know nothing, save what we find in the prefaces he wrote to his several republications. Of his edition of the *Iconoclastes* we have spoken sufficiently in the *Memoirs*. Milton's works, in two quarto volumes, he barely revised and corrected. He corrected likewise a folio edition of Sidney's *Discourses on Government*, 1751, as mentioned above; and another of Ludlow's *Memoirs*. As an editor he had considerable merit.

In the years 1750 and 1751, he republished a collection of valuable tracts, with the title of "A Cordial for low Spirits," in 3 vols. 12mo.

In the year 1751 he also published, "Scarce and valuable Tracts and Sermons, occasionally published, by the late reverend and learned John Abernethy, M. A. author of the discourses on the Being and Perfections of God. Now first collected together."

Mr. Hollis gave a friend the copy of this book, which Baron had presented to him. In the blank leaf, facing the title page, is as follows, in Baron's own hand-writing :

"Presented to Thomas Hollis, Esq. by the editor. The original editions of the tracts were given to me, when I was a student at the university of Glasgow, by Mr. Francis Hutcheson, Professor of Moral Philosophy; who said, that some time or other I might be inclined to publish them. R. Baron."

In 1752 he published another collection of tracts, in two volumes, with the title of "The Pillars of Priestcraft and Orthodoxy shaken;" to which collection were added, in 1768, two more volumes, after his death, with a short account of his life and character.

It has been hinted, and we believe on good grounds, that he was mistaken, or misinformed, concerning the persons to whom he ascribed some of these tracts. A certain writer who survived Baron being interrogated about one of them, ascribed to him, replied, "Whatever writings in favour of public liberty, be they good or bad, are ascribed to me, I never either acknowledge or disown; considering, that perhaps I can better afford to want the reputation of orthodoxy and prerogative loyalty, than many a poor devil of a pamphleteer, who wants to get into better bread than half a crown a week from his bookseller."

We

We have mentioned above his edition of some of Mr. Trenchard's posthumous essays; and he may have published some other things, of which we have no knowledge or no remembrance.

Mr. Hollis was acquainted with Baron long before he employed him in the manner that has been told in the Memoirs. He was indefatigable in searching scarce and valuable liberty-tracts, many of which Mr. Hollis purchased of him while he lived, and others he bought at the sale of his books after his death. He was vigilant in detecting the underhand manœuvres of men whom he knew to be disaffected to public liberty, and it is believed that some good Whig pamphlets were the better for his notes. Upon a certain noted writer's being taken into the pay of government, he prophesied that the court system was becoming totally despotic; nor was he mistaken, as appeared by two infamous pamphlets, written in defence of certain ministerial measures of the worst complexion, by this new profelyte.

Mr. Baron was educated at Glasgow, under the eye of the late celebrated professor Hutcheson, for whom he entertained a reverential regard during his whole life. Mr. Hutcheson was likewise one of Mr. Hollis's favourite philosophers; a circumstance that will authorize us to give the following character to our readers, published in the London Courant, 1746, and believed to be drawn by Mr. James Moore, professor of Greek in the university of Glasgow:

“ Mr. Francis Hutcheson, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the university of Glasgow, was a man blessed with an extensive genius, deep penetration, and universal knowledge, accompanied with the most amiable simplicity of manners, sweetness of temper, warmth of heart, and dignity of soul; who eminently practised that virtue and benevolence with which he endeavoured to inspire others, for what he taught he was. Happy had it been for his country, and for the society of which he was a member; happy for those to whom he was endeared by the ties of blood or friendship; had the unerring hand of Providence prolonged a life of so much worth. But let us rather rejoice in the good he has done, and that he once was ours, than repine at our loss, and the disappointment of our fondest wishes.”

There is, we are informed, a striking likeness of Mr. Hutcheson made in wax by the ingenious Mr. Gauffet, from which a medallion was cast



by A. Selvi, at Florence, by order of one of his disciples; a general description of which, with an engraving, is in Count Mazzuchelli's Museum, published at Venice, 1763. 2 vols. fol. Lat. et Ital. intitled, "Numismata virorum doctrina præstantium."

Baron presented several copies of his edition of Milton's *Iconoclastes* to those whom he esteemed. In the copy sent to Mr. Pitt was written, "To William Pitt, Esq. Assertor of Liberty, Champion of the People, Scourge of impious Ministers, their Tools and Sycophants, this book is presented by the Editor." In that sent to Glasgow he calls that university, "the Nursery of Science, and the Patroness of Liberty."

SIR SAMUEL MORLAND.

IN a copy of this author's *History of Piedmont*, sent among his noble present of books to Berne, Mr. Hollis wrote the following admonition:

"Reader, whosoever thou mayest be that shalt peruse these lines, whether Pagan or Jew, Christian or Mahometan, or Sceptic, consider well the two decrees of the council of Constance, with the letter of Clement XII." [to Augustus king of Poland, both which were transcribed into the book] "with the practices and massacres which have ensued from them; and so long as the arm of popery is uplifted against thee, so long be thine uplifted against popery, in justice to thyself and mankind."

This caution, however, is now out of date; the decree, and the letter, we are to believe, are both cancelled, and the ring of the fisherman laid up among his holiness's collection of antiques; and his spiritual sons become the friends of mankind, whether Jews, Turks, Infidels, or heretical Protestants.

We give this Sir Samuel Morland a place in this Appendix, not as the character of a patriot, or of an honest man, but as an example of the basest hypocrisy, treachery, and villainy, that can well be imagined.

When the reader has perused Sir Samuel's dedication of his history to Cromwell, he will be astonished at what we are about to exhibit.

"We think fit to relate here, as a thing most remarkable, that on this  $\frac{6}{16}$ th of May, Mr. Morland, chief commissioner under Mr. Thurloe, who was secretary of state to Oliver Cromwell, his chief  
"and



LAURENCE NATTER LITHOGRAPHER.







“ and most confident minister of his tyranny, arrived at Breda, where  
 “ he brought divers letters and notes of very great importance, foras-  
 “ much as the king discovered there a part of the intricate plots of the  
 “ inter-reign, and likewise the perfidiousness of some of those who  
 “ owed him, no doubt, the greatest fidelity in the world. The king re-  
 “ ceived him perfectly well, made him knight, and rendered him this  
 “ public testimony, that he had received most considerable services from  
 “ him for some years past.” Kennet’s Register, p. 135, who quotes for  
 this article Sir William Lower’s Journal, folio, 1660, p. 12.

Charles presented Sir Samuel afterwards with a medal, on one side  
 of which was the king’s head laureat, legend, CAROLO II. REGI INSTI-  
 TUTORI AVG. In the table of the reverse, IN ADVERSIS SUMMO VITAE  
 PERICULO IN PROSPERIS FELICI INGENIO FREQUENS ADFUIT.

This we take from Evelyn’s Numismata, p. 141. who says, “ Upon  
 “ what occasion, or whom it does concern, I need not inform the world,  
 “ which has ever heard of the great and important services Sir Samuel  
 “ Morland did his majesty from time to time, during the late usurper’s  
 “ power, by the faithful intelligence he so constantly sent him.” Mr.  
 Evelyn adds, from the information of Morland himself, “ that his Ma-  
 “ jesty gave him leave to wear the medal as an honourable badge of his  
 “ signal loyalty.” Or more justly as a badge of baseness, which should  
 render him infamous to all posterity.

We have read of heroes who would have sent back such wretches to  
 the party they betrayed, that they might receive the proper reward of  
 their treachery. But Charles had no heroism of that sort; how far his  
 brother improved upon him, in this respect, let the reader judge from  
 the following specimen :

One Hucker, a captain of horse in the Duke of Monmouth’s insurrec-  
 tion, being taken and tried before Jeffries for rebellion, pleaded, that  
 “ as soon as he came within sight of the king’s camp he fired a pistol, to  
 “ give them notice of the approach of the enemy, and immediately rode  
 “ off, thinking to have the benefit of the king’s proclamation, by which  
 “ pardon was offered to all in arms who would abandon the Duke within  
 “ a limited time.” But Jeffries told him, that “ He, above all other  
 “ men, deserved to be hanged; and that for his treachery to Monmouth

“ as well as for his treason against the King\*.” Jeffries was a casuist in his way, and knew the difference between successful and unsuccessful treachery.

Morland in his old age became blind, and composed a little book, intitled, “ The URIM of Conscience;” to which “ the author has had recourse for plain answers in his own particular case (as every man living ought to do in his) to four questions of great weight and importance; *viz.* 1. Who, and what art thou? 2. Where hast thou been? 3. What art thou now doing? 4. Whither art thou going? Lond. 1695.”

The book opens with the first of these questions, Who, and what art thou? And the answer is the truest perhaps he ever gave to any question that was put to him in his whole life; *viz.* ONE WHO DESERVES NO NAME; A POOR AND DESPICABLE INDIVIDUAL OF THE UNHAPPY SPECIES OF HUMAN RACE.

Bp. Burnet relates the particulars of Morland’s services to Charles on one very important occasion, wherein, by a dextrous burglary, he out-rogued Sir Richard Wallis, a spy of Cromwell’s, and, after his death, to Thurloe.

Toland wrote a book, intitled, “ The art of restoring, or the piety and probity of General Monk;” in which he says, “ Monk’s diffimulation, treachery, and perjury, are like to remain unparalleled in history.” Perhaps not so, but a sufficient instance how far villainy may be glossed over by men who profit by it, as this specimen was particularly by various writings, in which the clergy figured in no small proportion.

Bp. Burnet’s character of Monk † bespeaks him capable of any treachery and meannesses that would turn to his own account. He had not the tithe of Cromwell’s genius to enable him to set up for himself, if that was his object; and if he had succeeded, he would not, we may presume, have kept his power a year to an end.

Kennet, Bishop of Peterborough, endeavoured, in a marginal note (Register, p. 205.) to soften Bp. Burnet’s account of Monk. Dr. Kennet profited by the Restoration; and, though a learned man, and a very useful writer, was an egregious time-server, and shifted his ground with

\* See Kennet’s Compleat Hist. vol. III. p. 434. note.

† Hist. O. T. fol. p. 98.

great activity and sagacity. He is said to have written his own life; but has, as we remember, omitted to mention his fulsome flattery of James the Second, and the glaring proof he gave of it in a mean preface he wrote before his Translation of Pliny's Panegyric.

In this preface, Dr. Kennet reckons among "pestilent libels teemed" "to promote anarchy, and justify rebellion," the following, Stephani Junii Bruti, *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*,—A book, intituled, "De jure Magistratuum in Subditos. Grotius de Jure Belli et Pacis. Johannis Miltoni pro Populo Anglicano Defensio." And all for commending the faying of Trajan, when he presented a sword to the Prætorian Præfect: *Hoc pro me utere si recte impero; si male, contra me.*

When the Doctor changed his note, in animadverting upon Sacheverell's sermon, this preface was not forgot by the partizans of the latter, who republished it, with severe remarks\*. His apology was, that it was an exercise prescribed to him by Mr. Allam his tutor. "Not that he thinks himself obliged to defend every thought and expression of his juvenile studies, when he had possibly been trained up to some notions which he afterwards found reason to put away as *childish things*." Thus exculpating himself at the expence of the venerable seniors of the university of Oxford, who probably have not even yet put away these "*childish things*."

His dexterity, however, in shifting his ground, was never more conspicuous than in his two thirtieth of January sermons of 1704 and 1705; when finding that his *manly* things would not go down with the grand-daughter of Charles I. he betook himself once more to his *childish* things; building again in 1705 the things that he had destroyed in 1704 †.

Most of these Friends of public Liberty we have here recorded have not only suffered for their steadiness to the principles they professed, but have been stigmatized with opprobrious characters by those who have set up for patterns of peace, order, and loyalty.

The principles of Poynt, Languet, Buchanan, Milton, Sydney, Locke, and a long list of patriotic writers that might be added, have been

\* In a pamphlet, intituled, *The Conduct of the Rev. Dr. White Kennet Dean of Peterborough, from the year 1681 to the present time.* LONDON, for Charles King, Westminster-hall, 1717.

† See Biog. Brit. vol. IV. p. 2825 and 2827.



marked and furiously declaimed against by flatterers of princes and court-expectants, as principles of sedition and rebellion.

Our forefathers had just notions of constitutional liberty; and, on some occasions, carried them into practice, in opposition to the tyranny of the monarchs under whom they were oppressed; but their superstitious attachment to the holy catholic Roman church kept them in awe even in the midst of their most brilliant exertions; and the most powerful mediator of peace between the king and his people was most commonly the legate of the pope.

Henry the Eighth put an end to this influence; and the study of the grounds of resistance to the pope's authority in spirituals led the protestants to a more perfect insight into the civil rights of mankind, as appears by Poynt's book, written in the reign of Queen Mary.

Elizabeth saw the tendency of this discernment, and, with great art and management, checked it in its rise, by playing the prelatical hierarchy against the puritans, and making the latter, the most steady and enlightened assertors of public liberty, odious and despicable among the common people, to whom the trappings of royalty, and of an established prelacy, have always been a sure bait to catch their admiration and obedience.

James, who had neither the good sense nor the manly spirit of Elizabeth, gave himself no thought about the foundations of the English constitution, or the dispositions of his English subjects, but relied upon the innate majesty of princes, and his own personal accomplishments, for the establishment of a despotic rule, which he foolishly attempted in a way that opened the eyes of numbers of considerable men who had acquiesced in the pretensions of Elizabeth, because she had uniformly applied her authority to the public good.

Charles, who was aware of the folly and puerility of his father's character, and knew that the *majesty* of government was not to be so supported, had yet a pride, obstinacy, and fierceness of temper, which, while they suggested to him ideas of his supreme regal dignity, made him perfectly untractable in every dispute he had with his people for the first fourteen or fifteen years of his reign.

The spirit of the parliament of *forty-one*, instead of making him wiser, enflamed his insane passion for dominion, and overpowered his talent  
of

of dissimulation and duplicity, of which he found so much use in his subsequent necessities.

The characters of that noble collection of patriots who then composed the English senate are sufficiently known, and have been unwillingly acknowledged even by the fautors of Charles the First.

The provocations they had to proceed as they did are amply set forth in our general histories, but we own we were greatly surprised to find in a publication of the year 1776, and dedicated to the Right Hon. Jeremiah Dyson, a short but satisfactory summary of Charles's treason against the constitution, and consequently a complete vindication of the counsels of that matchless parliament in restraining the enormities of the tyrant\*.

The respectable author indeed mentions one drawback upon their reputation, namely, "the act for preventing their dissolution," which he calls "a violent breach of the constitution of this government;" but this should not be turned to their reproach, as it was opposed to the more violent breaches of the constitution made by the King himself; and the author candidly and impartially observes, that "if this act had not been obtained, perhaps it would have been impossible to oppose the King's attempts with effect†."

This therefore we presume to call an act of fidelity of the representatives of the people to their constituents. It is an instance of the expedience and righteousness of recovering the violated constitution, by means not strictly justifiable when the times are peaceable, and the curators of government are just and upright.

If this parliament are at all blameable, it is for not immediately proceeding to the arraignment and punishment of the grand national criminal.

They had sufficient overt-acts before them, to convict him of the blackest treason against the majesty of the people of England; and had they called him to account about the time that Strafford and Laud were impeached, and when they were constitutionally invested with the legislative and judicial powers of a national representative, all the world

\* See the *Conclusion of A Collection of Cases of Privilege of Parliament from the earliest Records to the year 1628*, particularly p. 198.

† Ibid. p. 210.

must have justified them in cutting off, by a solemn sentence, so egregious an offender against the happiness of a great people.

The great advantage that has been given to the declaimers on this subject is, that justice was executed upon Charles by an incompetent authority. Upon this principle the plea of those who were called Regicides was overruled. Had the parliament of 1641 proceeded against the tyrant by way of attainder, before they were over-powered by their own army, even Bridgeman, and the rest who sat in judgment upon the members of the high-court of justice that adjudged Charles to death, must have seen, that the argument inferring the treason of these men from the illegality of the judicature would have had no force.

The noble pleading of John Cook, called *King Charles's Case*, usually published at the end of Ludlow's Memoirs, had only one defect, that it would have been *coram non judice*, which could not have been objected, had the King been attainted by a free parliament, as was that of 1641 for some years after it commenced.



## A P P E N D I X.

PAPERS relative to the foregoing MEMOIRS.

## N° I.

An Account of Mr. Thomas Hollis's Benefactions to Harvard College in New-England; as taken out of an old accompt-book of his, by his nephew Thomas Hollis, of Lincoln's-Inn.

Also a flight Account of some other of his Charities abroad, and of those of his Brother Mr. John Hollis, and of his nephew Mr. Thomas Hollis, Father to Thomas Hollis, of Lincoln's-Inn.

Things sent to New England by Mr. Thomas Hollis, of London, Merchant, in benefit to Harvard College.

		<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
17 <sup>18</sup> / <sub>16</sub> , March 7,	By Captain Osborne, - - - -	104	4	7
1720, March 3,	By Captain Chadder, as follows:			
	A Chest of Books, marked T. H. valued at - -	20	0	0
	Two Chests of Arms, marked I P, bought of John Williams, - - - -	53	7	6
	Charges and Freight - - - -	1	6	0
1720, March 31,	Four Chests of Arms, marked T 1 to 4, bought of John Williams, sent by Captain Lithered, with Charges of Shipping - - - -	53	2	0
April 10,	Nine Casks of Nails, marked I T 1 to 9, bought of Robert Plumsted, sent by Capt. Martin, - -	62	19	0
Ditto,	One Hogshead of Locks, Hinges, and Iron Wares, marked N, bought of Lambert, Lance, and Company, sent by Capt. Grose, - - - -	56	15	6
1720, Sept. 30,	Eleven Casks of Nails, marked I T 1 to 11, bought of Lambert, Lance, and Company, sent by Capt. Thomson, - - - -	58	12	6
1720, Feb. 14,	Sundry Iron Wares, by contract with Gilbert and Craddock, sent by Capt. Lithered, - - - -	200	0	0
Ditto,	Sundry more, by contract with ditto, sent by Capt. Osborne, - - - -	300	0	0
		<u>£. 910</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>1</u>

			£.	s.	d.
		Brought forward	910	7	1
1721, June 24,	Two Chests of Arms, bought of John Williams, sent by Capt. Minot,	- - - -	56	11	0
Aug. 9,	Fifteen Casks of Nails, One Cask of Ironmongery Ware, One Bundle of Frying Pans, sent by Capt. Janverin,		101	15	0
1721 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> , Feb. 9,	A Box of Books, by Capt. Tucker,	- - -	3	10	0
1722, June 8,	Eight Casks of Nails, bought of John Williams, sent in two Ships,	- - - - -	41	0	0
1722 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>3</sub> , Jan. 28,	By Capt. Osborne, three Bills on John Williams, for £. 50. £ 50. £. 100.	- - -	200	0	0
	Also a Box of Books, which cost	- - -	3	0	0
1724, July 31,	By Capt. Osborne, a Box of Books, marked T H, valued at £. 80. exclusive of what he sent; £. 60. being given by Mr. John Hollis, and £. 20. by Mr. Joseph Huffey,	- - - - -	80	0	0
1724 <sup>4</sup> / <sub>5</sub> , Feb. 22,	By Capt. Osborne, a Box of Books, himself and others,		60	0	0
1725, June 7,	By Capt. Clarke, a Box of Books,	- -	6	0	0
1725 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>6</sub> , Jan. 21,	A Bill on Samuel Greenwood and John White,	-	20	0	0
25,	Another, on Osborne and Company,	- -	100	0	0
Feb. 2,	Another, on Capt. William Blaise,	- -	100	0	0
7,	Another, on Nathaniel Cunningham,	- -	100	0	0
Ditto,	Another, on Osborne and Company,	- -	100	0	0
1726 <sup>6</sup> / <sub>7</sub> ,	By the Totnefs, Capt. Curling, five Chests, containing a complete Apparatus for the Mathematics, bought of Hawksbee,	£. 116 18 0			
	Gave Mr. Ems £. 3. 3s. Gave others				
	£. 3. 3s. Freight, &c. £. 3. 6s.	£. 9 12 0			
			126	10	0
		Sterling £.	2008	13	1

Produce to Harvard College, in New England Money, of the Things before specified;  
that is, of those of them which were intended to be sold.

			£.	s.	d.
1719, July 19,	By Cash for the Things sent by Capt. Osborne, with Interest to the 20th of June,	- - - -	300	0	0
1720, March 26,	By John Tyler's Bill, to pay for the two Chests of Arms sent by Capt. Chadder, six months after their safe arrival,	- - - - -	159	9	0
			£. 459	9	0
					By

			£.	s.	d.
		Brought forward	459	9	0
1720, March 31,	By John Tyler, for the four Chests of Arms sent by Capt. Lithered, - - - - -		150	9	6
April 10,	By John Tyler's Bill, to pay for the nine Casks of Nails sent by Capt. Martin, three months after their safe arrival, - - - - -		186	12	6
	By John Tyler's Bill, to pay for the Hogthead of Iron Wares, sent by Capt. Grose, six months after their arrival, - - - - -		168	14	6
1721, Feb. 20,	By John Tyler, for the eleven Casks of nails sent by Capt. Thomlinson, - - - - -		164	0	8
12,	By Gilbert and Craddock, for the Iron Wares sent by Capt. Lithered, - - - - -		580	0	0
1722, March 29,	By ditto, for the Iron Wares sent by Capt. Osborne, -		870	0	0
July 18,	By John Pym, for the two Chests of Arms by Capt. Minot, - - - - -		163	1	0
	By Gilbert and Craddock, for the things sent by Capt. Janverin, - - - - -		302	10	0
June 8,	Entered in T. H's book, for what reason does not appear, - - - - -		0	4	0
	Directed John Tyler to pay to Mr. Calendar, towards repairing of his Meeting £. 30. half of which sum was given by Mr. John Hollis; which sum of £. 30. with the following sum paid to the College, is supposed to make up the value of the eight Casks of Nails sent in two Ships, - - - - -		70	11	11
1723,	By John Williams, for the amount of his three Bills, making £. 200. Sterling, - - - - -		580	0	0
1726,	By the Amount of the Five Bills for £. 420. Sterling, -		1170	0	0
		New England Money, £.	4865	13	1

By a memorandum of Mr. Thomas Hollis's, dated July 31, 1727, it appears, that the net produce of his donations to Harvard College (exclusive of gifts not vendible) amounted then to £. 4900, New England Money; and that it was laid out at interest there at 6 per cent. producing £. 294. per annum.

This Sum he has appointed to be laid out annually, in the following manner :

To a Divinity Professor, - - - - -	£. 80
To a professor stiled Hollisian Professor of the Mathematics, -	80
To the Treasurer or Accomptant of the College -	20
To ten Poor Students in Divinity - - - - -	100
To supply Deficiencies - - - - -	14
	£. 294



But, besides the preceding Donations, he likewise sent them a sett of Hebrew and Greek types for printing, and very large quantities of books. Also he presented them with his picture in a gilt frame, which, with charges, cost £. 28; and, with his statutes and orders relating to his benefactions, handsomely framed, with a glass before it, which cost £. 8. In the whole, Mr. Maber, who lived with him, used to say, that the total of his charities to Harvard College, and to different religious societies and persons in New England, amounted to £. 3000. Sterling.—Mr. Thomas Hollis, his nephew and successor, and my much honoured father, likewise made divers handsome presents, to Harvard College, of Books; gave a Bell, which cost upwards of £. 42. Sterling, to the Southermost Church in Boston, standing in Hollis-Street; and several other Charities, as they were desired by and for worthy purposes and persons.

Things sent to New England by Mr. Thomas Hollis and others, not specified in the preceding part of this paper.

		£.	s.	d.
1720, August 4,	By Capt. Osborne, One Hogshead of Iron Wares, bought of Lambert, Lance, and Co. for the benefit of E. Calender, of Boston, and his Church, - - -	44	3	8
172 $\frac{1}{2}$ , March 6,	By Capt. Annis, for Pennsylvania, two Chests of Books, directed to Abel Morgan, to be distributed among Baptist Preachers, - - - - -	30	0	0
	[Of this sum Mr. Thomas Hollis gave £. 12. Mr. John Hollis £. 12. and Mr. John Taylor £. 6.]			
August 31,	By Capt. Clark, a Box of Books, to the Rev. Mr. Coleman, for sundry, - - - - -	5	8	0
1723, August 16,	By Capt. Osborne, directed to E. Calender, six suites of clothes proper to baptize persons in, - - -	10	7	0
	A Bill to E. Calender, - - - - -	21	0	0
	[Of these two benefactions Mr. John Hollis paid a moiety.]			
172 $\frac{3}{4}$ , Feb. 10,	By Capt. Osborne, partly T. H's, partly Mr. Taylor's Gift, - - - - -	2	0	0
29,	By Capt. Annis, for Pennsylvania, - - - - -	1	5	0
		Sterling, £. 114 3 8		

*Mem.* Mr. John Hollis's Benefactions to New England were considerable, as well as elsewhere; though, from motives of prudence to his family, he was restrained from giving in so very large a manner as his elder brother Mr. Thomas Hollis, who was a widower, without children.

EXTRACTS from a Sermon preached at the Lecture in Boston, April, 1731, before his Excellency the Governor (Jonathan Belcher, Esq.) and the General Court, on the news of the death of the much honoured Thomas Hollis, Esq. "The most generous and noble Patron of Learning and Religion in the Churches of New England."

By his friend and correspondent, Benjamin Colman, Pastor of a Church in Boston.

In Council, April 2, 1731—Ordered, That Benjamin Lynde, Esq. with such as shall be appointed by the Honourable House of Representatives, be a Committee, to give the thanks of this Court to the Rev. Mr. Benjamin Colman, for his Sermon preached yesterday, on occasion of the death of Thomas Hollis, Esq. of London, who has merited highly of this Government and People, by his liberal Benefactions to Harvard College, for the promoting Learning and Religion in this Province: and that they desire a copy of the said Sermon for the press sent down for concurrence.

J. WILLARD, Secretary.

In the House of Representatives, April 2, 1731. Read and concurred; and Mr. Wells and Major Brattle are joined in the affair.

J. QUINCY Speaker.

April 2, 1731, consented to,

J. BELCHER.

Dedicated to his Excellency Jonathan Belcher, Governour, &c. and the Honourable His Majesty's Council and House of Representatives in General Court assembled.

"My Fathers, &c.

"Mr. Hollis merits to be named among *great men*, and to *stand before kings*; the honours which the general court have once and again done to his name and memory are *Pillars of Gratitude* to future generations to look on with great *Veneration*; that which is *singular* in the piety and benefits of Mr. Hollis unto these churches was, that, though he was not strictly of our way, nor in judgment with us in the point of infant-baptism, yet his heart and hand was the same to us *as if we had been one* in opinion and practice with him; and in this let him stand a *teaching pattern* and example to us of a noble Christian Catholic Apostolic Spirit of Love, which makes those that differ in lesser matters to receive one another to the glory of God, and a *shining testimony* against a narrow party spirit, which is too much the disgrace and detriment of the Protestant interest.

"To the honour of my country I must add, that it was some account Mr. Hollis received from us of the free and catholic air we breathe at our *Cambridge*, where *protestants* of every denomination may have their children educated and graduated in our college, if they be have with sobriety and virtue, that took his generous heart, and fixed it on us, and enlarged it to us; and *this* shall be with me among his distinguishing *praises*, while we rise up and bless his memory."

PREFACE

PREFACE to a Sermon preached at a Public Lecture, April 6, 1731. in the Hall of Harvard College, in Cambridge, New England, upon the news of the death of Thomas Hollis, Esq. of London, the most bountiful Benefactor to that Society.

By Edward Wigglesworth, D. D. and Hollis-professor of Divinity.

Published at the desire of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

“ The *using the proper means* to promote and propagate *right knowledge* must needs be  
“ looked on as very beneficial to mankind. Our fathers, who first settled in this wilderness,  
“ were well aware of this ; and therefore in their early times, though few in number, poor  
“ and low in their worldly circumstances, conflicting with many dangers and difficulties, did  
“ found a college here, called Harvard College, in Cambridge, in New England, to train up  
“ youth in good knowledge, learning, virtue, that thereby they might be the better quali-  
“ fied eminently to promote the glory of God and good of men.

“ The late Thomas Hollis, Esq. of London, did, in his donations to our College, far ex-  
“ ceed any other of its benefactors.

“ He founded two professorships in it, one for Divinity, the other for the Mathematics,  
“ and natural and experimental Philosophy.

“ Out of the incomes or interest of his donations he ordered fourscore pounds per annum  
“ in our money to each of his professors, and ten pounds a-piece per annum to ten poor  
“ scholars of a laudable character designed for the ministry, and twenty pounds per annum  
“ to the college-treasurer for the time being, in managing the Donations he has sent us.  
“ Besides these things, he has given us a curious apparatus for mathematical and philosophi-  
“ cal experiments. By his means we have Hebrew and Greek types\* to be used in print-  
“ ing, and he has, at sundry times, augmented our college-library with very valuable books,  
“ partly his own gift, and partly by procurement from friends.

“ BENJAMIN WADSWORTH,”

“ President of Harvard-College, in Cambridge, New England.”

*From the Sermon of Dr. Wigglesworth.*

“ He did not refer his works of Piety and Charity to the directions of his last will and tes-  
“ tament, but chose in them to be his own executor. The expressions of his bounty were  
“ not confined to a party ; took the utmost care that his bequests should be well improved,  
“ and his pious intentions not defeated.”

A POEM on the death of the late Thomas Hollis, Esq.

Humbly inscribed to Mr. John Hollis, brother of the deceased.

By SAYER RUDD.

“ Nor yet to Harvard all his views confin’d,  
“ His active soul still nobler work design’d ;  
“ A kingdom’s welfare dwelt on every thought,  
“ For general good his heavenly candor wrought ;  
“ To public peace his prudent schemes invite,  
“ Faction to quell, and clashing sects unite.

\* In Dr. Chauncy’s book, to prove bishops were not known in the first centuries of the Christian Church, many extracts in Greek are printed in Roman characters, for want of types, it should seem.

“ Note,



“ *Note*, The grand design of Mr. Hollis’s bounties to New England, as I have been informed, was to cultivate a good understanding and friendship between such as were in communion of the church of England and the Dissenters in those parts.  
 “ Where may not riches soar on virtue’s wings !”

A PHILOSOPHICAL DISCOURSE, concerning the mutability and changes of the material world, to the Students of Harvard College, upon the news of the death of T. Hollis, Esq. the most bountiful benefactor to that Society,

By ISAAC GREENWOOD, A. M.  
 Hollisian Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics,  
 Read at the desire of the President and Fellows.

“ To Mr. Thomas Hollis,  
 “ Nephew of the late deceased Thomas Hollis, Esq.  
 “ The following Discourse is, with all due respect and humility,  
 “ Dedicated, by the Author.

Dr. Jeremiah Hunt, in a Sermon preached at Pinner’s-Hall, Jan. 31, 1730, on the Death of Thomas Hollis, Esq.

Dedicated to

Mr. Nathaniel Hollis, } brothers.  
 Mr. John Hollis, }

and

Mr. Thomas Hollis, nephew :

“ His public-spiritedness was remarkable and uncommon; distant and remote countries, as well as Britain, will miss him, and lament his death. The communities to which he stood related received instances of his distinguished bounty; and what makes this part of his character the most shining is, that his goodness was not confined or restrained entirely to a party.”

This uncle, like our friend, was careful to observe attentively his own conduct, and with that view kept a Diary of his Life for many years, which he afterwards committed to the flames.

EXTRACT from Governor Hutchinson’s History of Massachusetts Bay, 1764. 2d edit.

“ The Library of Harvard College, consisting of five or six thousand volumes, many of them by the most celebrated authors, grew out of donations from charitable benefactors, unless any small purchases have been made out of the college stock : this valuable library, together with the apparatus, and the whole of the college in which they were placed, were consumed by fire, in January 1764. Very generous presents have been since made towards the Library; but, as yet, far short of procuring one equal to the former. Of the many benefactors to the college, the family of Hollis stands the first upon the list.

“ Mr.

“ Mr. Thomas Hollis of London, who died in 1731, founded two Professorships, one of Divinity and the other of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. He gave an apparatus for Experimental Philosophy, and made great and frequent additions to the Library. Several other branches of the family have given bountifully to the college, particularly the present Mr. Hollis of Lincoln's-Inn, who, besides his donations to the former Library, has given largely towards the new Library now collecting; the general court have caused a new College to be built in the year 1763, which cost between four and five thousand pounds sterling: it has taken the name of Hollis-Hall, in grateful remembrance of the benefactions of this worthy family.” p. 511.

“ I suppose the donation of Thomas Hancock, Esq. late of Boston, deceased, who gave one thousand pounds sterling, towards founding a professorship for the Oriental Languages, is the next in value; his executor and residuary Legatee, Mr. John Hancock, being informed of his testator's intention to have given five hundred pounds sterling more towards the Library, generously gave the same sum for the same purpose.”

IN a note to the funeral sermon on the Rev. Dr. Wigglesworth.

By NATHANIEL APPLETON, A. M. pastor of the first church in Cambridge,

“ Boston, 1765.

“ Mr. Thomas Hollis, merchant of London, who, among his many pious and charitable benefactions to the College, founded a professorship for divinity: Dr. Wigglesworth was the first Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College, Cambridge, chosen in June, 1721, died Jan. 16, 1765, in the 73d year of his age, having faithfully and laudably discharged the office of Professor for more than forty-two years.

“ Besides the Professorship of Divinity, the above-named Mr. Hollis founded a Professorship of Mathematics, of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, established ten scholarships, furnished the College with a costly and valuable apparatus; and some or other of that worthy name and family have, from time to time, for more than forty years past, been testifying their pious and generous regards to the College; and the present worthy Mr. Thomas Hollis, of London, possessed abundantly of the same excellent spirit and kind regard to the college which recommended and endeared his great uncle to us, has, since the late destruction of the library and apparatus by fire, sent towards the reparation of that loss a very large collection of valuable books, to the amount of some hundreds sterling.”

Dr. Wigglesworth's son is now a tutor in the college; and his daughter married to Mr. Sewell, lately chosen Hancock-Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages.

“ Mr. John Hollis bore a considerable part with his brother in many of his public charities.”

BENEFACTIONS to Harvard College, recorded in the College-Books, under the name of  
H O L L I S.

Among the Benefactors to Harvard College, the name of HOLLIS merits a particular and grateful remembrance.

1719, Mr. Thomas Hollis of London, Merchant, sent his first benefaction, viz. £.104. 4s. 7d. Sterling. Produce, in New England, £.296. 16s. 1d. Currency.

1722, He founded a Professorship of Divinity, the salary to be £.80 per annum, *i. e.* about £.26 Sterling.

He ordered that ten scholars should receive annually ten pounds each, New England Currency.

He likewise ordered to the college-treasurer ten pounds per annum, New England Currency.

1725, The whole sum which had been given by Mr. Hollis amounted this year to £.3670, as appears by an instrument signed by the Corporation, and sent to Mr. Hollis, dated Sept. 23, 1725, which sum in Sterling is £.1223. 11s.

1726, Mr. Hollis remitted £.1170 Currency, *i. e.* £.390 Sterling, and founded a Professorship of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, salary £.80 Currency.

To the college-treasurer £.10 per annum, Currency.

1728, Mr. Hollis sent an Apparatus for Experimental Philosophy, cost £.126. 10s. Sterl.

Besides the above-mentioned donations Mr. Hollis sent,

1722, An elegant Edition of Milton's Poetical Works.

1724, A Packet of Books, through the hands of Mr. Colman.

1725, He sent many valuable Books, given by himself and others, at his motion.

1726, Another Box of Books, and three Boxes containing Greek and Hebrew Types, the present of a friend of his, valued at thirty-nine pounds Sterling.

This Great Benefactor died Jan. 22, 1731.

1724, Mr. John Hollis, brother to Thomas, gave in Books to the value of £.64 Sterling.

1731, Mr. Nathaniel Hollis, brother to Thomas, gave £.350 Currency, equal to £.100 Sterling, for the education of two Indians or others.

1732, Mr. Thomas Hollis, son to Nathaniel and heir to Thomas, presented £.700 Currency, equal to £.200 Sterling. He also presented a Sphere, Orrery, and a Box of Microscopes.

1733, Mr. Thomas Hollis gave a valuable collection of Books.

1734, Mr. Nathaniel Hollis gave a box of Books.

1758, Thomas Hollis of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq. son of the last Thomas, gave Milton's prof-works, 2 vols. 4to, and forty-four volumes of tracts, 4to. (consumed).

1764, Mr. Hollis presented 4 volumes of valuable books, curiously bound. (These were consumed with the College.)



1770, After Harvard Hall was consumed by fire, together with the Library and Apparatus, among the Subscribers in Great Britain, Mr. Timothy Hollis gave £.20 towards the replacing a Library and Apparatus.

THOMAS HOLLIS, of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq. is deservedly placed among the greatest Benefactors of Harvard College; sprung from a race of ancestors who have been distinguished by their generous benefactions, he hath proved himself worthy his honorable descent; and that, as he inherits a great part of their estate, he inherits also their excellent spirit.

This Gentleman began to honor the College with his notice a short time before the destruction of Harvard Hall. As soon as he was made acquainted with this event he subscribed £.200 Sterling to the Apparatus, and the same sum to the Library. But, not satisfied with these generous donations, he hath, at different times, enriched the Library with a great number of curious, valuable, and costly Books.

The whole of his benefactions amounts, it is supposed, to more than £.1400 Sterling.

Two alcoves, which are distinguished by the name of HOLLIS, in large golden capitals, are completely filled with Books sent by this munificent Benefactor, besides many Books in a third alcove.

He died Jan. 1, 1774. and at his decease left a testimony of his unabating generosity to this Seminary of Literature, by bequeathing £.500 Sterling, to be laid out in Books, as an addition to his former benefactions to the Library.

True account of Benefactions, under the name of HOLLIS, from the Records of Harvard College.

(Attest.) SAMUEL LANGDON, President.

Dec. 16, 1775.

(Copy) compared by ANDREW ELIOT, Secretary to the Hon. and Rev. Board of Overseers.

November 6, T. H. writes,

"Four more cases of Books to Harvard College.—My mite has been now sent, and with the earliest dispatch; having remembered well the various accidents of life, and the favorite Italian proverb of the matchless John Milton, whom, indeed, through magnanimity, it blinded:

*"Cosa fatta, capo ha."*

Oct. 19, 1765, from President Holyoke:

"We have also received the Medaglion of Mr. Professor Hutcheson safe; and it shall be taken a proper care of, by placing it in a room set apart for a museum."

May 11, 1765.—Holyoke, speaking of the vote of thanks of the corporation, adds,

"Which acknowledgments alone, I confess, I am not contented with, and therefore shall endeavour, when our room designed for our Library is finished (which they are now upon) that there shall be a particular apartment assigned for your books, which shall be called, 'The Hollis Library.'

“ As in my letter I have desired your own picture, as we have received that of your excellent uncle, so I beg leave to repeat that request, and pray you would not deprive us of what we so much desire.”

June 10, 1765.

“ I hope you will be so good as to grant my request therein, viz. that you would send us your picture; for we much desire it, and should delight to look upon the effigy of so great a benefactor.”

June 24, 1765, in answer to the above :

“ The bindings of Books are little regarded by me for my own proper library; but by long experience I have found it necessary to attend to them for other libraries; having thereby drawn notice, with preservation, on many excellent books, or curious, which, it is probable, would else have passed unheeded and neglected.”

Aug. 14, 1766. To ——— Holyoke.

“ I am in great uneasiness, occasioned by the reading of a circumstantiated article relating to the sudden and great illness of excellent Dr. Mayhew, in one of your public prints.—I fear he is no more! But in that case he will have died the death of a scholar, and of an ingenious man, and not till having lived to great ends.”

July 9, 1766. From President Holyoke.

“ S I R,

“ Having reserved one of the alcoves in our Library, of which there are ten in all, for your books, we have now placed them; and a most beautiful appearance they make: we have some other alcoves that look very well, but not as the Hollis.—Though I look upon this as a small thing in comparison with the wise choice you have made of the subject in them treated of, and the excellent authors among them; as they well nigh fill one alcove, we have hung therein a table, whereon is inscribed the name of HOLLIS, in large gilt capitals; besides which there is pasted on the inside of the cover of each of your books the inclosed, cut in black as to those of them we suffer to be lent out, and in red as to those we think too precious for loan, which those gentlemen who want them may consult in the library, we having all conveniencies for that purpose, and the Librarian always ready to attend them.”

To ——— Holyoke, May 17, 1766.

“ In the future, the gentlemen of Harvard College would be pleased to omit all notice of me on public occasions: I should deem it as the greatest favour. Their good will I shall ever rejoice in, and be proud of, but public praise I most certainly dislike. —

“ Two more cases of books—when a like quantity about shall have been forwarded again, in the course of a few months; my mite will then be exhausted.—Books of government I have delighted most to send, for if government goes right, all goes right; yet not without digression to other subjects, either useful or ingenious.”

November 28, 1766. From ——— Holyoke.

In yours of the 27th of May, that "for the future we would avoid all notice of you upon public occasions;" but I pray, Sir, you would consider that you and your family's benefactions are known and justly celebrated by all round about us; wherefore, should we be silent as to the mention of your liberality, we should incur the odious censure of ingratitude, which we hope we shall never be guilty of; besides, such a behaviour would have a direct tendency to discourage any further assistance from others; for all have not that disregard to public praise which you, in the greatness of your mind, have declared your dislike of.

Nº II.

From the Massachusetts-Gazette.

Thursday, Feb. 2, 1764.

An Account of the Fire at Harvard-College, in Cambridge;  
with the Loss sustained thereby.

" Cambridge, January 25, 1764,

LAST night Harvard College suffered the most ruinous loss it ever met with since its foundation. In the middle of a very tempestuous night, a severe cold storm of snow attended with high wind, we were awaked by the alarm of fire. *Harvard-Hall*, the only one of our ancient buildings which still remained\*, and the repository of our most valuable treasures, the public LIBRARY and Philosophical APPARATUS, was seen in flames. As it was a time of vacation, in which the students were all dispersed, not a single person was left in any of the Colleges, except two or three in that part of Massachusetts most distant from Harvard, where the fire could not be perceived till the whole surrounding air began to be illuminated by it: when it was discovered from the town, it had arisen to a degree of violence that defied all opposition. It is conjectured to have begun in a beam under the hearth in the library, where a fire had been kept for the use of the General Court, now residing and sitting here, by reason of the Small-Pox at Boston; from thence it burst out into the Library. The books easily submitted to the fury of the flame, which, with a rapid and irresistible progress, made its way into the apparatus-chamber, and spreading through the whole building, in a very short time left nothing but the bare walls. The other Colleges, Stoughton-Hall, and Massachusetts-Hall, were in the utmost hazard of sharing the same fate. The wind driving the flaming cinders directly upon their roofs, they blazed out several times in different places; nor could they have been saved by all the help the town could afford, had it not been for the assistance of the gentlemen of the general court, among whom his Excellency the Governor was very active; who, notwithstanding the extreme rigor of the season, exerted themselves in supplying the town engine with water, which they were obliged to fetch at last from a distance, two of the college pumps being then rendered useless. Even the new and beautiful Hollis-Hall, though it was on the windward-side, hardly escaped. It

\* Harvard-Hall, 42 feet broad, 97 long, and four stories high, was founded A. D. 1672.

flood



flood so near to Harvard, that the flames actually seized it, and without immediate help must have carried it. But, by the blessing of God on the vigorous efforts of the assistants, the ruin was confined to Harvard-Hall; and there, besides the destruction of the private property of those who had chambers in it, the public loss is very great, perhaps irreparable. The Library and the Apparatus, which for many years had been growing, and were now judged to be the best furnished in America, are annihilated. But, to give the public a more distinct idea of the loss, we shall exhibit a summary view of the general contents of each, as far as we can, on a sudden, recollect them.

#### Of the LIBRARY.

IT contained—The Holy Scriptures in almost all languages, with the most valuable expositors and commentators, ancient and modern:—The whole library of the late learned Dr. Lightfoot, which at his death he bequeathed to this College, and contained the Targums, Talmuds, Rabbin, Polyglott, and other valuable tracts relative to Oriental literature, which is taught here:—The library of Dr. Theophilus Gale, consisting of . . . Volumes:—All the Fathers, Greek and Latin, in their best editions:—A great number of tracts in defence of revealed religion, wrote by the most masterly hands, in the last and present century:—Sermons of the most celebrated English divines, both of the established national church and protestant dissenters:—Tracts upon all the branches of polemic divinity:—The donation of the venerable Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, consisting of a great many volumes of tracts against popery, published in the reigns of Charles II. and James II. the Boylean lectures, and other the most esteemed English Sermons:—A valuable collection of modern theological treatises, presented by the Right Rev. Dr. Sherlock, late Ld. Bishop of London, the Rev. Dr. Hales, F. R. S. and Dr. Wilson of London;—A vast number of philological tracts, containing the rudiments of almost all languages, ancient and modern:—The Hebrew, Greek, and Roman antiquities:—The Greek and Roman Classics, presented by the late excellent and catholic spirited Bp. Berkeley; most of them the best editions:—A large collection of History and biographical tracts, ancient and modern:—Dissertations on various political subjects:—The Transactions of the Royal Society, Academy of Sciences in France, *Acta Eruditorum*, *Miscellanea Curiosa*, the works of Boyle and Newton, with a great variety of other mathematical and philosophical treatises:—A collection of the most approved Medical Authors, chiefly presented by Mr. James of the island of Jamaica; to which Dr. Mead and other Gentlemen have made very considerable additions:—Also Anatomical cuts and two compleat skeletons of different sexes. [This Collection would have been very serviceable to a Professor of Physic and Anatomy, when the revenues of the College should have been sufficient to subsist a gentleman in this character:]—A few ancient and valuable Manuscripts in different languages:—A pair of excellent new Globes of the largest size, presented by Andrew Oliver, jun. Esq.—A variety of Curiosities natural and artificial, both of American and foreign produce:—A font of Greek types (which, as we had not yet a printing-office, was repolited in the library) presented by our great Benefactor the late  
worthy

worthy Thomas Hollis, Esq. of London; whose picture, as large as the life, and institutio for two professorships and ten scholarships, perished in the flames.

The Library contained above six thousand volumes, all which were consumed, except a few books in the hands of the members of the house; and two donations, one made by our late honourable Lieutenant Governor Dummer, to the value of £. 50 sterling; the other of 56 volumes, by the present worthy Thomas Hollis, Esq. F. R. S. of London, to whom we have been annually obliged for valuable additions to our late library. Which donations, being but lately received, had not the proper boxes prepared for them; and so escaped the general ruin.

As the library records are burnt, no doubt some valuable benefactions have been omitted in this account, which was drawn up only by memory.

#### Of the APPARATUS.

WHEN the late worthy THOMAS HOLLIS, Esq. of London, founded a Professorship of Mathematics and Philosophy in Harvard-College, he sent a fine Apparatus for Experimental Philosophy in its several Branches.

Under the head of *Mechanics*, there were machines for experiments of falling bodies, of the centre of gravity, and of centrifugal forces;—the several mechanical powers, balances of different sorts, levers, pulleys, wedges, compound engines; with curious models of each in brass.

In *Hydrostatics*, very nice balances, jars, and bottles, of various sizes, fitted with brass caps, vessels for proving the grand hydrostatic Paradox, siphons, glass models of pumps, hydrostatic balance, &c.

In *Pneumatics*, there was a number of different tubes for the Torricellian experiment, a large double barreld Air-pump, with a great variety of receivers of different sizes and shapes; syringes, exhausting and condensing; Barometer, Thermometer;—with many other articles.

In *Optics*, there were several sorts of mirrors, concave, convex, cylindric; Lenses of different focus; instruments for proving the fundamental law of refraction; Prisms, with the whole apparatus for the Newtonian theory of light and colours; the camera obscura, &c.

And a variety of instruments for miscellaneous purposes.

THE following articles were afterwards sent us by Mr. Thomas Hollis, Nephew to that generous Gentleman, viz. an Orrery, an Armillary Sphere, and a box of Microscopes; all of exquisite workmanship.

For *Astronomy*, we had before been supplied with Telescopes of different lengths; one of 24 feet; and a brass Quadrant of two feet radius, carrying a Telescope of greater length; which formerly belonged to the celebrated Dr. Halley. We had also the most useful instruments for *Dialling*;—and for *Surveying*, a brass semicircle, with plain sights and magnetic needle. Also, a curious Telescope, with a complete apparatus for taking the difference of Level; lately presented by Christopher Kilby, Esq.

Many

Many very valuable additions have of late years been made to this apparatus by several generous benefactors, whom it would be ingratitude not to commemorate here, as no vestiges of their donations remain. We are under obligation to mention particularly the late Sir Peter Warren, Knt. Sir Henry Frankland, Bart. Hon. Jonathan Belcher, Esq. Lieut. Governor of Nova-Scotia; Thomas Hancock, Esq. James Bowdoin, Esq. Ezekiel Goldthwait, Esq. John Hancock, A. M. of Boston, and Mr. Gilbert Harrison, of London, Merchant. From these Gentlemen we received fine reflecting Telescopes of different magnifying powers; and adapted to different observations; Microscopes of the several sorts now in use; Hadley's Quadrant fitted in a new manner; a nice Variation Compass, and Dipping-needle; with instruments for the several magnetical and electrical experiments—all new, and of excellent workmanship.

ALL DESTROYED!

Mr. Hollis used to mention it as a singular circumstance which gave him pleasure, that four large cases of curious and rare books were sent by him to New England, and landed at the Custom-house, and fortunately not received into the Library of Harvard College, which was soon after burnt. By this delay these books were saved. Among them 45 volumes of tracts, collected by Dr. Wallis, and other books, which he said he could not procure again, nor should attempt it.

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N<sup>o</sup> III.

Character of Dr. MAYHEW.

Boston, July 17.

WEDNESDAY Morning the 9th of July instant died here, greatly and sincerely lamented by all who knew him, the Reverend JONATHAN MAYHEW, D. D. Æt. 46. a friend to Liberty and Learning, a Lover of Mankind, and a uniform Disciple of JESUS CHRIST.

Soon after he had finished his studies at Cambridge, where he exhibited lively marks of an original genius; he was called, in the year 1747, to the pastoral care of the West Church in Boston, which he accepted; promising, like a true Christian, to make the Word of God his only Rule of Faith and Practice, and steadfastly refusing to teach for Doctrines the Commandments of Men.—In this Charge he continued till his death, loving his people, and by them beloved; explaining, with manly fortitude, such Truths as he found contained in the Bible, however discountenanced; esteeming the approbation of his Father in heaven far before the applause of the world, constantly inculcating by his preaching and conduct the doctrines of grace, as he thought them delivered by our Saviour and his apostles, and that Religion which is from above, and is full of mercy and good fruits; without partiality and without hypocrisy.

In



In his early productions, his uncommon talents, and generous independency of spirit, are eminently conspicuous; and though, for his declared enmity to every priestly usurpation of authority over the consciences of men, he had very soon to encounter the whole force of enthusiasm and bigotry; yet his strength of mind, integrity of soul, and unconquerable resolution in his Master's service, supported him under every *temporal* discouragement, and enabled him to triumph over all his adversaries; while his respect for, and observance of, the precepts of the Gospel, at length convinced the world of the sincerity and uprightness of his heart.

His works already published will transmit his name to posterity, under the endearing character of a steady and able advocate for religious and civil liberty, and of a firm Believer as well as constant Practiser of pure and undefiled Religion, as contained in the Scriptures; of which, as he left every one to judge for himself, so he always insisted on the same indulgence; never presuming to *force* his doctrines further than their Truth and the Gospel would carry them.

If at any time, through the warmth of his imagination, his earnestness in the cause of Religion and Truth, and his fixed aversion to establishments of men in the Church of CHRIST, he may, in some few instances, have been hurried beyond the bounds of moderation, his many virtues and great services towards establishing Christianity on the most enlarged foundation abundantly atone for such foibles: indeed the natural keenness and poignancy of his wit, whetted often by cruel and unchristian usage, must palliate his severest strokes of satire. Nor will these light objections depreciate his general reputation, if it be remembered, that in his most social hours he invariably sustained the united character of the Christian and the Gentleman.

From the influence of his extensive correspondence with some of the wisest and best men in the English nation, that Seminary of learning in which he was educated received many and considerable donations; and if in him that seat of literature has not lost a wealthy benefactor, it is deprived of one who virtually by his influence might have been such, and one who was a sincere friend to that freedom of education which is essentially necessary to the well-being of any academy designed for the education of youth and the benefit of mankind.

In him, it may be truly said, his disconsolate widow has lost a kind and affectionate husband, his children a tender and faithful parent, his family a humane and indulgent master; the poor of all denominations a charitable and constant friend; his church a worthy, learned, social, virtuous, and religious pastor; this continent a resolute and strong defender of its religious independency; and mankind a bold and nervous assertor of their rights, and that liberty wherewith CHRIST has made them free.

His funeral, which was attended on Friday last by all ranks of people of every denomination, was at once a striking instance of that universal esteem he justly merited, and that charity he was remarkable for when alive, being in all respects worthy so great and benevolent a character, and as numerous and melancholy a procession as was ever known in this town.

W. apt

Wrapt in His arms who bled on Calv'ry's plain,  
 We murmur not, blest Shade! nor dare complain:  
 Fled to those seats where perfect spirits shine,  
 We mourn our lot, yet still rejoice in thine;  
 Taught by thy tongue, by thy example led,  
 We blest Thee living, and revere Thee dead.  
 Pass'd from our view, our eyes no more shall see,  
 Or Truth our ears again receive from thee.  
 Yet long our hearts thy precepts shall retain,  
 Deep in our memory thy love remain;  
 Our care be still in virtuous deeds to vie,  
 Our constant pray'r, like Thee to live and die.

### Another Character of Dr. MAYHEW.

By HARRISON GRAY, Esq.

ON Wednesday the 9th of July died, universally lamented; and on Friday following was very decently interred, the remains of that learned, faithful, and laborious servant of JESUS CHRIST, the Rev. Dr. *Jonathan Mayhew*, in the 46th year of his age, and in the 20th year of his ministry.

We have abundant reason to think that the grace of GOD took possession of him in early life. When at College, his religious conduct (no ways inconsistent with a close application to his studies) was observed by all his contemporaries: how often has he reproved them for indulging to those vices which are too common to a collegiate life! When he entered into the ministry, I have reason to think that he had passed from death to life; and that he had the full assurance of the love of GOD to his soul. He was allowed by all to be a gentleman of superior natural abilities; to which was added an uncommon stock of acquired learning, which he amassed together with unwearied pains and diligence, esteemed by all men of sense that knew him, or that were acquainted with his writings, to be as brilliant a genius as ever this country produced. He has left but few equals, and not one superior behind him. It would have been an honour, even to Oxford, to have it said, that this man was educated there. His ministerial qualifications must be acknowledged by those that are competent judges to have surprisingly exceeded the common rate. He was a great and a sound divine, making the Holy Scriptures his only rule of faith and practice, despising the shackles of Creeds and Confessions.

Dr. Mayhew was a great advocate for primitive Christianity, a zealous contender for the faith once delivered to the saints; a true believer of the doctrines of grace, as revealed in the Holy Scriptures; and a gentleman of an unspotted life and conversation. By his close application to the study of the Scriptures he heaped up an immense treasure of Scripture-knowledge; out of which, as a scribe well instructed to the kingdom of heaven, *he brought*

*forth things new and old.* The Doctor had a serious argumentative and pathetic way of preaching, calculated (with the divine blessing) to reach the conscience, as well as inform the understanding; when he was preaching, the congregation was all attention; he struck their minds, captivated their hearts: when explaining any of the great doctrines of the gospel, he would do it in so clear and familiar a manner that persons of the lowest capacity could not but understand him. He had a warm imagination, and a lively fancy, and seemed to have a deep impression of all the great subjects of religion upon his own heart; and when he spoke of them, he did it with such clearness and elevation, with such force and power of persuasion, as was not in the power of his hearers to resist. He had an uncommon concern for the youth of his congregation, many of his sermons were particularly adapted to them, an excellent volume of which, at their desire, was made public; so that, although he is dead, he yet speaketh to them. The Doctor always spoke his mind with great freedom, being an utter stranger to that cursed fear of man that bringeth a snare. If he had too much simplicity for this world, it was an error of the right side; better so than not have enough for the other. He was a hearty lover of all good men, let their peculiar sentiments in some points of doctrine be ever so different from his. He was a fair disputant, never argued for the sake of victory, but for the sake of truth; this being the principle upon which he acted, both in his private disputations, and public performances; he scorned to make use of any arguments that he himself did not look upon as weighty, though he knew they must gravel his opponents. He forced his own sentiments upon no man, but allowed all the enjoyment of that liberty wherewith the Son of God has made them free. His benevolence was diffusive to persons of all persuasions. He had a great aversion to dissimulation in every shape; a sincere and hearty lover of truth. He was far, very far, from allowing himself to practise any little arts of deceit: He would, with a generous indignation, forego the fairest opportunity of promoting his own interest, if the way to it was not open and direct. He was of a frank, open, and generous mind. However deep his capacity reached in matters of science, yet, in social life, he was so void of all reserve that you might see through him. He affirmed, and you believed him: He promised, and you trusted him: you knew him, and you loved him. But, alas, he is gone, and we shall see his face no more. It is one of the intricacies of Divine Providence that men of such bright parts and shining geniuses, endowed with such great talents, and being sanctified by divine grace, so eminently serviceable to mankind, should be taken out of the world in the midst of their days and usefulness; while others, of a quite contrary character, should be suffered to live even to old age: *How unsearchable are thy ways, O Lord, and thy judgments past finding out!* This is certainly an argument in favour of a future state, when all the seeming inequalities of this world will be rectified, and men shall be fully rewarded according to the deeds done in the body. However, to use the Doctor's words upon another occasion, "Not he that draws and  
 " respireth this vital air the ofteneſt; not he that ſleeps the moſt nights, or wakes the moſt  
 " days; not he that paſſes through the moſt ſummers and winters; in ſine, not he that ſees  
 " the moſt ſuns and ſeaſons rolling over him in ſucceſſion, this is not he that liveth the  
 " longeſt,



“ longest, or that dies the most maturely : there is another, a far juster, standard of age, of life, and death ; and he who lives the most usefully, the most to the proper ends and purposes of life, lives both the most honourably and the longest, and makes the most mature as well as glorious exit. Honourable age is not that which standeth in length of time, or that is measured by number of years. But *wisdom is the grey hair unto men, and an unspotted life is old age.*”

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N° IV.

Scaliger's Opinion of the Original Manner of PRINTING.

“ Writers are not agreed about the year in which the art of printing was invented. Every one who has a book printed above 140 years ago, thinks it the first that ever was printed. Volateranus is wont to throw into that heap of his Commentaries many things rashly, and without selecting ; among the rest he says, that two brothers, who were Germans, published at Rome, St. Austin de Civitate Dei, and Lactantius, and that these were the first printed books that ever appeared in the year 1465, signifying hereby, that the art of printing had its nativity at Rome that year. Others produce the books of Cicero de Officiis, printed by John Fust in the year 1466. Whence others dream that Fust was the inventor of the art, and that no book was ever printed before this of Cicero. Others think that the Doctrinal of Alexander the Grammarian was the first that was ever printed by Fust at Mentz. Rabbi Joseph, a Jewish priest, affirms, in his Chronicle, that the oldest printed book of all (whose name however he does not mention) was executed at Venice, in the year 5188 of the Jewish æra, of the Christian 1468. Of this account no person hitherto has been aware ; certainly nobody has mentioned it. Hence the Jew concludes, that the art of printing took its rise from this book. But they are all mistaken ; for the work of Cicero de Officiis is not the first of books that were printed ; but the first book of Cicero de Officiis. But these books are printed in the same manner as those we now have, namely, from leaden letters packed together, and ranged in square forms or frames. But the rudiments of the art arose differently. For they began to print, not from distinct and single types, joined together as at this time, but from wooden pages, in which the letters were carved ; which manner of printing was first invented at Harlaem, in our Holland, where at this day the house is shewn where the inventor of the art made his first trial. Of these wooden pages Accursius Mariangelus makes mention in his copy of Donatus, printed on vellum ; which book afterwards came into the hands of Aldus Manutius the younger. Mariangelus's words are these: *This Donatus and the Confessionals were printed first of all in the year 1450. The hint was certainly taken from the Donatus first printed in Holland from*

“ *engraved tables*. The rudiments therefore of the typographical art took their rise in Holland, from this edition of Donatus, not executed with types, but with a carved tablet. The most learned Hadrian Junius witnesses that printing was first invented at Haerlem; but while he was doing this justice to his country, and bringing to light many things worthy to be known, from the very infancy of the art, he did not know that it began from this edition of Donatus, imprinted from wooden-tablets. The most illustrious Veronica Lodronia (Scaliger’s great-grandmother) had in her possession an *Horologium beatæ Mariæ* (vulgarly called matins, or morning-hours), imprinted from carved wooden pages upon vellum, the letters of which are connected one with another, and chained together, like the hand-writing of merchants or their clerks who write in haste, especially those of Holland and Germany, so that you would take it to be the manuscript of a German; nor could it have been easily distinguished at first sight by any one who had not been advised of it beforehand, or who did not read it with attention and deliberation. The place where, or the year when, the book was printed, are not marked. It was of an oblong form, bound in a wooden cover, over which was glued or pasted another of velvet, much worn by constant use, and closed with silver clasps. Upon opening the book there appeared on the inside of the wooden cover, which was thick enough to admit of it, a kind of round receptacle, hollowed out, covered with chrystal plate, under which were the figures of a crucifix of the virgin Mary, and of John the Evangelist, in silver. Below, not far from the feet of the crucifix, these words appeared in the hand-writing of a woman, VERONICA DI LYDRONE DELLA SCALA, with some German letters, wretchedly delineated, but such as were easily discovered to be written by a woman; but though they were sullied with long handling, not one of them was defaced, nor so disfigured but that it might be easily read. This book, which Julius Cæsar Scaliger kept thirty-six years after the death of his mother, was torn to pieces by a grey-hound, to the great mortification of Julius, who would have received it at any price. All this Joseph Scaliger, who was then a boy, saw and remembered, and as he related it we have faithfully given it; his brother Silvius, who has reported these particulars to his friends a thousand times, would confirm the same, were he living.”

This narrative suggests some remarks. Mr. Nichols says, *Origin of Printing*, p. 66, that Scriverius was led into an error by Scaliger; meaning, we suppose, in affirming, that the first typographical impressions were from wooden blocks, whereon the letters were cut, and not from single letters in a frame. We presume, Messrs. Bowyer and Nichols had never seen this detail of Scaliger, which is taken from his *Confutatio fabulæ Burdonum*; but had only met with what Scaliger says, or is made to say, in the *Scaligerana Secunda*, motte *Imprimerie*. Scaliger, we find, founds his opinion on a book he had seen, which, though not perhaps the first that was printed, was surely early enough to support his opinion, if his inferences from the appearance of the print were good. For we take it for granted, no artist would go back to block printing, who had found the superior convenience and expedition of printing from the changeable arrangement of single letters. Was Scaliger’s ac-

count

count of this book true or not? If it was not, it should seem there would be no difficulty in confuting the fact. If it was a true representation, how shall this running of one letter into another be accounted for otherwise than by admitting that they must have been from the impression of an engraved tablet? The first printers would naturally endeavour to imitate the sorts of handwriting in use in their own country. The *fac similes* at the end of Dr. Jortin's Life of Erasmus, and of Bower's supposed letters, shew the possibility of doing it; and the latter instance, by the way, has been brought to shew how easy it was for the jesuits to have Bower's handwriting counterfeited. No doubt but the first essays of this block printing would be rude and inaccurate; but so must all early specimens of first inventions be. It is admitted by Mr. Meerman, "that the descendants of Laurentius reprinted the *Speculum* partly on wooden blocks, and partly on wooden separate types." Whence had they the art of block printing, if their ancestors had never used it? Laurentius is said "to have printed his first works on separate moveable types, fastened together by threads." But the thing to be accounted for, to invalidate Scaliger's testimony is, how the letters in his great grandmother's horarium came to be so connected; and, as it were, run one into another, if printed only on single wooden types, fastened as above? Will it be said, that the threads by which these single letters were fastened, effected this connexion in the print? But we leave the subject, as a matter of mere curiosity, thankful that so useful an art has come down to us, by whatever means it was first invented. We need hardly mention, that the *Confutatio fabulae Burdonum* was the work of Joseph Scaliger. See *Idée generale d'une collection d'estampes; a Leipzig, 1711.*

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Nº V.

D'Acoſta's Genuine Letter.

"To the noble, ingenuous, and learned Trustees of that magnificent repository called  
"The British Museum, health and prosperity. Amen.

"Thus saith Solomon, son of the humble, pious, and honoured Isaac da Costa, surnamed  
"Athias, late of the city of Amsterdam, deceased, one of the people called Jews, which  
"are scattered among the nations, and from among that part of the captives of Jerusalem  
"which settled in Spain, who hath sojourned fifty-four years and upwards, with security,  
"advantage, and ease of mind, in this renowned metropolis, eminent above all others for  
"the number, valour, freedom, commerce, knowledge, ingenuity, politeness, and huma-  
"nity, of its inhabitants.

"Whereas a most stately monument hath been lately erected and endowed by the wis-  
"dom and munificence of the British legislature; render unto them a recompence, O LORD,  
"according to the work of their hands! an house abounding in books, old and new, writ-  
"ten and printed, and in the choicest curiosities, both natural and artificial, with intent to  
"preserve



“ preserve the same to succeeding generations, in benefit to the people of these nations, and  
 “ of the whole earth, may it increase, and may it multiply ! Lo, therefore, I bring unto you  
 “ my mite, that is, a roll containing the law of Moses, written upon parchment, after the  
 “ manner in use among the Jews, in their synagogues ; and *a very antient* manuscript, con-  
 “ taining Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets, which is likewise  
 “ upon parchment ; and another manuscript, containing the law of Moses, The Canticles,  
 “ Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Psalms, Proverbs, Job, and the Aphtaroth,  
 “ also upon parchment ; and *one hundred and fourscore* printed books in the Hebrew  
 “ language, of old editions, which were bound by order of Charles the Second King of  
 “ Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and marked with his cypher, and were purchased by  
 “ me in the days of my youth ; the particulars, are they not written in the book that will be  
 “ found herewith ? requesting you benignly to accept the same, and to cause them to be  
 “ deposited in the Museum, for inspection and service of the public, as a small token of my  
 “ esteem, love, reverence, and gratitude, to this most magnanimous nation ; and as a thank-  
 “ giving offering, in part, for the generous protection and numberless blessings which I have  
 “ enjoyed under it.

“ And now my prayer is unto thee, O LORD, that this great nation may cry, yea roar,  
 “ and be exalted over all its enemies ! and that peace may suddenly flow in upon it like the  
 “ rapid current of a mighty river ; so that our eyes may behold the King in his beauty,  
 “ upon the highest pinnacle of glory, in fulness of success and joy, and that by him and  
 “ his posterity the liberties and felicity of this people may be preserved and increased, as  
 “ hitherto, till time shall have an end !—London, the 5th day of the week, and 5th day of  
 “ the month Sivan, in the year 5519 from the formation.”

This Solomon da Costa is no other than a broker ; but a man of knowledge and virtue ; and of such rare ability in his own profession, that he hath acquired by it, during the course of his life, one hundred thousand pounds : and this without public scandal or private fraud or meanness. Much of this has been nobly scattered, from time to time, in deeds of piety and beneficence, as well to his own straggled beggar nation as to ours. For many years he has spent annually among the latter, of my own knowledge, in the counties of Surry and Kent alone, above one thousand pounds. This has been done in a district of about thirty contiguous parishes, to which he rode and rides by divisions weekly ; and where he relieves the aged and disabled worthy poor with clothes, and food, and money ; and causes the industrious but necessitous young to be clothed, instructed, and placed out with farmers, and such like laborious honest men. To which ought not to be forgotten, that the whole is conducted without bustle or affectation. Benevolence like this, well-planned, large, extensive, constant, humble, and without by-views, is truly useful to society, and does honor to human nature. To this same gentleman several of our leaders in the House of Commons have been in no small degree indebted for their fame there in funds and money-matters, which no one understands more clearly, deeply, than himself, nor probably so well ; and by his credit with them he has been enabled to effect, at times, even national good offices.—So much

for

for my Hebrew friend Solomon da Costa, whose character I have been drawn into by degrees, and at unawares; but it is so singularly excellent, that I have even found a pleasure in sketching of it.

You will wonder, it is like, how such a number of books, and Hebrew books, should have been bound by that man-hating riot-king Charles the Second. It is my own opinion, that they were collected during the Commonwealth, when men of different spirit bore sway, (I mean not Cromwell, or his soldiers, who yet, as far as tyranny dared suffer, promoted learning), and when ingenuous male pursuits of every kind were patronized throughout, and high in mode; to be bestowed, like other similar donations, on one of the universities, (then under admirable regulation, and full of those extraordinary youths who figured afterwards with such eminence in all professions, down to, and beyond the Revolution) but which fell before bestowed, with the nation, to Charles the Second, at the Restoration. But neither did that King give them to any learned body, or person, nor take them into his own library, though they were magnificently bound in morocco, with his cypher and the crown, by his own order, and there they lay unnoticed farther, and unpaid for at the bookseller's his whole reign; with *three thousand other volumes in various languages*, alike curious, bound with like elegance, and alike neglected and *unclaimed*. The same being the case during the reigns of James the Second, king William, and queen Anne, they were sold, at length, by the bookseller, to other booksellers, at loss, towards indemnifying himself for the binding and interest-money; and the Hebrew books preserved intire, and bought some time in the reign of George the First by the excellent Solomon da Costa, then a young man greedy of knowledge, and pursuing it as keenly as most others of that age do their pleasures, for *four-score pounds*, though now invaluable.—News of the day.—Tired and almost blind, I gladly leave off with you, after reiterated assurance, that I am, with unfeigned respect and esteem,

DEAR SIR,

Your most obedient humble servant and friend,

T. H.

P. S. About the premium medal at Soc. for promoting arts, and the inventor of it. Also the flourishing state of that society. Also about paper made of silk rags.

In the account of the British Museum, no notice taken of the Hebrew MSS. and books given by Solomon Da Costa, by far the noblest donation yet presented.—No notice taken of the noble donation of the Homer's head, in bronze, given by the *Earl of Exeter*; concerning which see *Museum Meadianum*.

N<sup>o</sup> VI.

## Milton's Characters of a good and bad Minister of State.

(From his Tract of Reformation, touching Church-discipline. At the end.)

T H E N, amidst the hymns and hallelujahs of saints, some one may perhaps be heard offering at high strains, in new and lofty measures, to sing and celebrate thy divine mercies and marvellous judgments in this land throughout all ages; whereby this great and warlike nation, instructed and inured to the fervent and continual practice of truth and righteousness, and casting far from her the rags of her old vices, may press on hard to that high and happy emulation to be found the soberest, wisest, and most Christian people at that day, when thou, the eternal and shortly expected King, shalt open the clouds to judge the several kingdoms of the world, and distributing national honours and rewards to religious and just Commonwealths, shalt put an end to all earthly tyrannies, proclaiming the universal and mild monarchy through heaven and earth. Where they undoubtedly, that by their labours, counsels, and prayers, have been earnest for the common good of religion and their country, shall receive above the inferior orders of the blessed, the regal addition of principalities, legions, and thrones, into their glorious titles, and in super-eminence of beatific vision, progressing the dateless and irrevoluble circle of eternity, shall clasp inseparable hands with joy and bliss, in over-measure for ever.

But they contrary, that by the impairing and diminution of the true faith, the distresses and servitude of their country, aspire to high dignity, rule, and promotion here, after a shameful end in this life, (which God grant them!) shall be thrown down eternally into the darkest and deepest gulph of hell, where under the despightful controul, the trample and spurne of all the other damned, that in the anguish of their torture shall have no other ease than to exercise a raving and bestial tyranny over them as their slaves and negroes, they shall remain in that plight for ever, the basest, the lowermost, the most dejected, most under-foot and down-trodden vassals of perdition.

N<sup>o</sup> VII.

## A Passage from Milton :

Recommended by Mr. Hollis to be inserted by Mr. Martinelli in his preface to a new edition of Boccacio's works. Taken from Milton's tract, intituled, "The Reason of Church-Government." Book II. The Introduction.

LASTLY, I should not choose this manner of writing, wherein, knowing myself inferior to myself, led by the genial power of nature to another task, I have the use, as I may account,



account, but of my left hand. And though I shall be foolish in saying more to this purpose, yet, since it will be such a folly as wisest men go about to commit, having only confessed, and so committed, I may trust with more reason, because with more folly, to have courteous pardon. For although a poet, soaring in the high region of his fancies, with his garland and singing robes about him, might, without apology, speak more of himself than I mean to do; yet for me, sitting here below in the cool element of prose, a mortal thing, among many readers of no empyreal conceit, to venture and divulge unusual things of myself, I shall petition to the gentler sort, it may not be envy to me. I must say therefore, that after I had, for my first years, by the ceaseless diligence and care of my father (whom God recompence!) been exercised to the tongues, and some sciences, as my age would suffer, by sundry masters and teachers, both at home and at the schools, it was found, that whether aught was imposed me by them that had the overlooking, or betaken to of mine own choice in english, or other tongue, prosing or versing, but chiefly this latter, the stile, by certain vital signs it had, was likely to live. But much latelier in the private academies of Italy, whither I was favoured to resort, perceiving that some trifles which I had in memory, composed at under twenty or thereabout (for the manner is, that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there) met with acceptance above what was looked for; and other things which I had shifted, in scarcity of books and conveniences, to patch up among them, were received with written encomiums, which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side the Alps, I began thus far to assent both to them and divers of my friends here at home, and not less to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intent study (which I take to be my portion in this life) joined with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes, as they should not willingly let it die.

These thoughts at once possessed me, and these other, that if I were certain to write as men buy leaves, for three lives and downward, there ought no regard to be sooner had than to God's glory, by the honour and instruction of my country. For which cause, and not only for that I knew it would be hard to arrive at the second rank among the Latins, I applied myself to that resolution which Ariosto followed against the persuasions of Bembo, to fix all the industry and art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue; not to make verbal curiosities the end (that were a toilsome vanity); but to be an interpreter and relater of the best and sagest things among my own citizens throughout this island in the mother dialect.

That what the greatest and choicest wits of Athens, Rome, or modern Italy, and those Hebrews of old did for their country, I, in my proportion, with this over and above, of being a christian, might do for mine; not caring to be once named abroad though perhaps I could attain to that, but content with these British islands as my world; whose fortune hath hitherto been, that if the Athenians, as some say, made their small deeds great and renowned by their eloquent writers, England hath had her noble achievements made small by the unskilful handling of monks and mechanics.

## Notes for Milton's prose-works.

Pref. 42. THERE are several curious tracts by Mr. Owen.

P. 172. This matchless speech, composed of noblest learning, wit, and argument, was republished in 1738, with an excellent preface by Thomson, author of *Liberty*, a poem, and other works.

440. It appears, though not in Clarendon, or Writers of his party, that upward of 1000 men entered themselves voluntarily into the trained-bands of London, in one day, to defend the liberty of their country, then attacked, and of Parliament.—Vicars' Parliamentary Chronicle, quoted by Hume.

P. to Eikon. All history insinuates the same.

The ruin of the Parliament-cause, till then so nobly conducted, was the specious yet ridiculous self-denying ordinance, which changed the power from them to their own army.

From that time all was violence and constraint, nor did the former spirit any longer appear, except faintly at times, when the army was engaged in wars at a distance, or was disturbed itself by internal commotions.

*Mercurius Politicus*, n. 56. p. 886.

"The time was," &c.

Ditto, n. 108. p. 1690; and,

*The Excellency of a Free State*, p. 205.

"The regulation of affairs by reason of State."

*Welwood's memoirs*, p. 67. See *Iconoclastes*.

"During the whole course of this unnatural war."

*Neville's Discourses concerning Government*. edit. 1698. p. 158, 9, 60, 1.

"But before I leave Spain," &c.

*The Senate of Sweden's Journal*. See *Iconoclastes*.

"No free people ever yet existed."

*Bishop Kennet's hist. register*, p. 454.

*The Extract of Mr. Sancroft's consecration sermon*, Dec. 1660.

*Bishop Kennet's hist. register*, p. 658.

*The extract from Mr. Robert South's sermon before the King*.

*The end of Toland's life of Milton*.

*The Rev. T. Bradbury, his receipt for a thirtieth of January sermon*.

Q. The labour of the nation for a day?

Some years ago a bookseller of eminence in this town received a commission from Russia, for books on English history and government, with injunction not to send Sydney's *Discourses concerning government*, nor Milton's prose works.—"Why not from all the barbarous governments?"

IDEA. Heads of families, Senators, used to distinguish themselves by civil, not military, accomplishments.

The Remark in the "Continuation of the Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon," That the clergy are improper persons to engage in politics from the meanness of their families and narrowness of their education.

The Rehearsal transposed, v. 1. p. 4, 5, 6, 7.

"The press, that villanous engine," &c.

The Rehearsal transposed, v. 2, p. 377—80. quarto edit. 1776. vol. II. p. 496—499. quarto edit. 1776.

"You do three times at least," &c.

Bishop Kennet's hist. reg. p. 154 and p. 731.

Concerning "The King's gift of healing."

Bishop Kennet's hist. reg. p. 730.

The matter relating to the marginal note, "The sad effects of division, when no reigning King nor established Church."

A letter in the Gazetteer, June 16, 1763, among my old news papers.

Concerning, "Eating the King's bread."

#### Nº IX.

#### Effigies of John Milton.

1. A PORTRAIT in oil, painted by Cornelius Johnson, in the year 1618, when Milton was a boy of ten years of age, now in the possession of Thomas Hollis of Lincoln's-Inn; which was bought June 3, 1760, at the sale of the effects of the late Charles Stanhope, Esq. who purchased it of the executors of the widow of Milton.
2. Another, the painter unknown, executed when Milton was a youth of about twenty-one years of age; now in the collection of Arthur Onflow, late Speaker of the Commons house of Parliament, who purchased it of the executors of the widow of Milton.
3. A Print by William Marshall, prefixed to a small octavo, intitled, "Poems of Mr. John Milton, both English and Latin, composed at several times, London, printed 1645;" with which print Milton was justly displeased, as appears by the Greek epigram underneath it, it being a very bad one, and unlike him.
4. A Bust in plaister, modelled from and big as the life, in the possession of Thomas Hollis; executed soon after Milton had written his "Defensio pro Populo Anglicano," as some think, by one Pierce, a sculptor of good reputation in those times, or by Abraham or Thomas Simon.



5. A proof-impression in wax, from a portrait seal of Thomas Simon, now with divers other impressions of eminent persons of that age in the possession of Thomas Hollis; which impression agrees with the preceding bust in character and manner, and probably was copied after it.
6. A small steel puncheon of the bust of Milton, in full front, by Thomas Simon, which served for seals or rings, according to the usage of those times, especially among the friends of liberty and the parliament, now in the possession of Thomas Hollis.
7. A drawing in crayons, by William Faithorne, now in the hands of Messrs. Tonson, book-sellers, in London.

About the year 1725 Mr. George Vertue, a worthy and eminent British Antiquary, went on purpose to see Mrs. Deborah Clark, Milton's youngest and favourite daughter, and some time his amanuensis, who then lodged in a mean little street near Moorfields, where she kept a school for children for her support. He took this drawing with him, and divers paintings said to be of Milton; all which were brought into the room, by his contrivance, as by accident, whilst he conversed with her. She took no notice of the paintings; but when she perceived the drawing, she cried out, "*O Lord! that is the picture of my father: how came you by it?*" and, stroaking the hair of her forehead, added, "*Just so my father wore his hair.*" This daughter resembled Milton greatly.

8. A print by W. Faithorne, after the drawing in crayons, taken for that end, prefixed to Milton's Hist. of Britain, published 1670, in quarto.
9. A Print by W. Dolle, after the print by W. Faithorne, prefixed to a small octavo, intitled, "*Joannis Miltoni Angli, artis logicæ plenior institutio. Londini, 1672.*"

These are the several effigies of the divine Milton, known at this time, and agreed to be original; of which the first, second, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh, are excellent in their kinds; and some are of an opinion, that all other effigies are copied from them, wholly or in part, or else are spurious.

The medal of Milton, struck by Tanner, for the late auditor Benson, is after the bust in plaister, N<sup>o</sup> 4, and the drawing in crayons, N<sup>o</sup> 7. but chiefly the latter.

The marble bust in Westminster Abbey, by Ryssback, is likewise after N<sup>o</sup> 4 and N<sup>o</sup> 7. but chiefly the latter.

The bust in marble, made by Scheemaker for Dr. Mead, and sold at his sale to Mr. Duncombe for £. 11. 11s. was copied exactly, it is said, from N<sup>o</sup> 4.

N° X.

## An Answer to some Criticisms on Milton's Paradise Lost.

London Chronicle, April 28, 1764.

*Pudet hæc opprobria nobis  
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli.*

S I R,

A Correspondent of yours, who signs Z. in N° 1075, after quoting a severe reflection or two thrown out on Milton's political character, makes a mock-defence of him, and " considers his poem as a confutation of the error of his pen, and a confession of the guilt of his own actions:" adding, " How could he better refute the *good old cause* he was such an advocate for, than by making the rebellion in the poem resemble it, and giving the same characters to the apostate angels as were applicable to his rebel-brethren." While thus, by a super-subtile refinement in criticism, he makes the poet sing his own *Palinodia*, he pretends to discover, in the sentiments and speeches of Satan and his associates, the principles of the modern Whigs. At the same time he expresses his hopes to extinguish the party, by deriving it from so odious an original; and " that henceforth the staunchest Whigs will chuse to associate rather with Tories than with Devils."

The censure referred to, as well as this pretended vindication, might be excused, and even justified, had the authors of them, not content with canonizing the royal Martyr, actually deified him; and were the divine indefeasible right they ascribe to kings always accompanied with god-like wisdom and goodness. This would be a rational foundation for unlimited obedience, and non-resisting submission; in the same manner as the blind and implicit faith required from the votaries of the church of Rome is wisely and consistently enough founded on the pretended infallibility of her decisions. One is justly surpris'd to hear those absurd and exploded doctrines asserted and published in an age and country where the principles of government, as well as the measures of submission, are so thoroughly understood, and legally established; and where the liberties and privileges of the subject are no less secured than the royal power and prerogative of the sovereign. With respect to the different character of the Whigs and Tories, it may be observed, that if the one party resist the illegal abuse of power, and the exorbitant exercise of prerogative, they act in conformity to their distinguishing principles, and in defence of the constitution. If the other oppose the measures of government, they act in direct contradiction to their peculiar tenets of unlimited non-resistance and passive-obedience. And yet, in a case of extreme necessity, they have, from an instinct of nature, or the force of common sense, deserted their principles, and joined with the opposite party in defence of our laws, religion, and liberties. Thus at the Revolution, when the constitution was threatened with imminent danger, those slavish positive doctrines wherewith they had bound themselves *became like a thread of tow*  
when

*when it toucheth the fire.* I shall leave the sticklers for hereditary indefeasible right to tell who were the authors and abettors of the two rebellions that have happened since, unprovoked by any illegal imposition, or arbitrary encroachment on the liberty or property of the subject: and shall only add, that the invidious appellation of Rebels is, with as little truth or justice, given to the Whigs, as Mr. Z. discovers of moderation, or good-manners, in transforming them into Devils. This charitable expedient he has found out for *extinguishing the party* too much resembles the cruel device of the Court of Inquisition, who, in order to lessen the horror of their fiery *acts of faith*, and stifle the humanity and compassion of the spectators, disguise the unhappy victims in cloaks bespangled with flames and fiends.

To give my letter a less serious turn, and to shew Mr. Z. he may be answered in his own style, and defeated with his own weapons, I have transcribed, for his satisfaction, and the entertainment of your readers, a passage from Mr. Upton's Critical Observations on Shakspeare, Book II. Sect. II. for which I would bespeak a place in your Chronicle. Yours,

A. S. F.

Of all the various tribes of critics and commentators, there are none who are so apt to be led into errors, as those who, quitting the plain road of common sense, will be continually hunting after paradoxes, and spinning cobwebs out of their own brains.—I knew an ingenious man, who, having thoroughly persuaded himself that Virgil's *Æneid* was a history of the times, applied the several characters there drawn to persons of the Augustan age. Who can Drances represent but Cicero?

*Lingua melior, sed frigida bello*

*Dextera:—*

*— Genus huic materna superbum*

*Nobilitas dabat, incertum de patre ferebat.*—xi. 338—341.

Nor could any thing be more like than Sergesthus and Catiline of the Sergian family. In the description of the games he dashes his ship through over-eagerness against the rock. And the rock that Catiline split on was his unbridled, licentious temper. These, and some other observations, too numerous to be mentioned here, passed off very well; they carried an air of ingenuity with them, if not of truth. But when Iopas was Virgil, Dido Cleopatra, Achates Maecenas or Agrippa, Iapis Antonius Musa, &c. what was this but playing the Procrustes with historical facts?

Suppose, in like manner, one had a mind to try the same experiment on Milton, and to imagine that frequently he hinted at those times, in which he himself had so great a share, both as a writer and an actor. Thus, for instance, Abdiel may be the Poet himself:

Nor number nor example with him wrought  
To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind,  
Tho' single.

Thus was all thy care,  
To stand approv'd in sight of God, tho' worlds  
Judg'd thee perverse.



It is not to be supposed that the commonwealthsman, Milton, could bear to see an earthly monarch idolized, deified, called the Lord, the Anointed, the Representative of God : No, that sight he endured not ; he drew his pen, and answered himself the royal writer, thus exploring his undaunted heart :

“ O heav’n, that such resemblance of the Highest  
 “ Should yet remain, where faith and reality  
 “ Remain not !”

Who cannot see whom he meant, and what particular facts he pointed at in these lines ?

“ So spake the fiend, and with *necessity*,  
 “ *The Tyrant’s plea*, excus’d his dev’lish deeds.

Nor can any one want an interpretation for Nimrod, on whose character he dwells so long :

“ Till one shall rise,  
 “ Of proud ambitious heart, who (not content  
 “ With fair equality, fraternal state)  
 “ Will arrogate dominion undeserv’d  
 “ Over his brethren, and quite dispossess  
 “ Concord, and law of nature from the earth ;  
 “ Hunting (and men, not beasts, shall be his game)  
 “ With war and hostile snare, such as refuse  
 “ Subjection to his empire tyrannous.  
 “ A mighty hunter thence he shall be stil’d  
 “ Before the LORD, as in despite of heav’n,  
 “ Or of heav’n claiming second sovereignty ;  
 “ And from rebellion shall derive his name,  
 “ *Though of rebellion others be accuse.*”

Could the character of Charles the Second, with his rabble rout of riotous courtiers, or the cavalier spirit and party just after the Restoration, be marked stronger and plainer than in the beginning of the seventh book ?

“ But drive far off the barbarous dissonance  
 “ *Of Bacchus and his Revellers,*” &c.

It needs not be told what nation he points at in the twelfth book.

“ Yet sometimes nations will decline so low  
 “ From virtue (which is reason) that no wrong,  
 “ But justice, and some fatal curse annex’d,  
 “ Deprives them of their outward liberty,  
 “ Their inward lost.”

Again, how plain are the civil wars imagined in the sixth book ? The Michaels and Gabriels, &c. would have lengthened out the battles endless ; nor would any solution have been found, had not Cromwell, putting on celestial armour (for this was Milton’s opinion) like the Messiah all armed in heavenly panoply, and ascending his fiery chariot, driven over the malignant heads of those who would maintain tyrannic sway.

Let

Let us consider his tragedy in this allegorical view. Samson imprisoned and blind, and the captive state of Israel, lively represents our blind poet, with the republican party after the Restoration, afflicted and persecuted. But these revelling idolators will soon pull an old house on their heads; and God will send his people a deliverer. How would it have rejoiced the heart of the blind seer, had he lived to have seen with his mind's eye the accomplishment of his prophetic predictions! when a deliverer came and rescued us from the Philistine oppressors. And had he known the sobriety, the toleration, and decency of the church, with a Tillotson at its head, our laws, our liberties, and our constitution ascertained, and had considered too the wildness of fanaticism and enthusiasm, doubtless he would never have been an enemy to such a church, and such a king.

However, these mystical and allegorical reveries have more amusement in them, than solid truth, and favour but little of cool criticism, where the head is required to be free from fumes and vapours, and rather sceptical than dogmatical.

*Veri speciem dignoscere calles,  
Ne qua subaerato mendosum tinniat auro?*

PERSIUS, v. 105.

## N° XI.

### Another Answer to some Criticisms on Milton's Paradise Lost.

June 7, 1764.

S I R,

“ I F the king hath one part of the supreme power, and that the other part is in the Senate or people, when such a king shall invade that part that doth not belong to him, it shall be lawful to oppose a just force to him, because his power doth not extend so far: which position I hold to be true, even though the power of making war should be vested only in the king; which must be understood to relate only to foreign war; for as for Home, it is impossible for any to have a share of the supreme power, and not to have likewise a right to defend that share.” This passage from Grotius (*de Jure Belli et Pacis*, Lib. I. cap. 4. § 13.) was quoted on the trial of Dr. Sacheverell, and said to be exactly adapted to the constitution of England. At a similar period, when it is apparent that an imperious minister will persevere in his concerted plan of reducing the exploded Principles of the Tories into this unhappy country, too many hands, I presume, cannot be employed to counteract such unconstitutional machination; and I shall not derogate so much from the justice of my cause as to apologise for enlisting in the public service. The business of this essay is to retrieve the glory of our great Milton, which by your correspondent, who signs Z. (p. 508) is shamefully abused; and to rescue the persuasions of the Whigs from every attack, which must be prejudicial to Liberty, “ That principle (as it was said by a most able

“ and

“and upright lawyer) which casts out of us a selfish regard to ourselves, and introduces a  
 “diffusive benevolence to others; and against this principle it is that this writer has offend-  
 “ed.” His design was to cast odious colours on free maxims of government, and to invali-  
 date the authority of Milton in particular, by imputing Whig principles to the chief devil.  
 This, says he, I have proved. He has, at least, omitted the only regular method of proof,  
 which was, first to define Whiggism, then to shew its correspondence with the character of  
 Satan, and so draw an inevitable consequence. To be sure, he has had the sagacity to per-  
 ceive, that, according to Milton, the devil used specious pretences to convert inferior spirits  
 to his party: but this is taken from an improper part; he has omitted the true motive of the  
 infernal serpent, which was not to level but controul, not to create a democracy in heaven,  
 (which however would have proved him a Republican and no Whig) but to set himself  
 highest on the eternal throne. This appears from his private meditation (B. iv.) and this is  
 therefore to be depended on. Does this approach nearer to the system of the Tories or of  
 the Whigs? For if indeed to be innovators, disturbers of the peace of heaven, contume-  
 lious dictators of right and wrong, created them Whigs; we may, by the same reasoning,  
 honour the new ministry of queen Anne, the rebel Jacobites, and the present abettors of  
 toryism, by that respectable name. By the same reasoning, wherever two potentates are  
 contending for absolute dominion, this candid critick may fligmatize the Whigs, by imput-  
 ing their principles to the most worthless and diabolical party. The sense of Milton was  
 widely different: and that I may clearly evince this, I refer my impotent antagonist to the  
 passage relating to Nimrod, at the beginning of the twelfth book, which has always been  
 supposed to allude to his own times. But if Milton was this tory in his heart, and wrote his  
 poem to calumniate his own party, and as this writer vainly surmises, why did he suffer  
 contempt and persecution after the Restoration, and not rather pull off the mask? There is  
 that quality, Sir, in obloquy, and such is the frailty of our human nature, that an accusation  
 once solemnly charged, cannot be purged clean out of our minds by subsequent demonstra-  
 tion; and for this reason it grieves me, that your correspondent should choose Milton for  
 the object of his venom; in other respects, I make this opposition for the advantage of such  
 weaker readers as were liable to imbibe such groundless error: men of superior sense will  
 readily treat it with spontaneous contempt. It is impossible to command a zealous temper  
 when men, void of knowledge, and incapable of reasoning, assert the boldest fiction in  
 the grossest manner. But since I am not sure that the writer who has raised my indignation  
 did not mean to be humorous as well as severe, I must beg his compassion (perhaps the  
 Abdiel of his own system, *vide* first letter) for those Grecian states, who were so wicked  
 as to form themselves into democracies, and continued many ages in that miserable state of  
 reprobation. When he has so clearly proved that Whigs are Devils, and Devils Whigs\*,

\* This, says he (2d Letter), is the very reverse to what I proved; he means converse, for the reverse it  
 is not. But he has proved this position in the same degree as the other, although without design; for we  
 know it was their apostasy which converted angels into devils, and, according to this writer, it is the apos-  
 tasy of both which forms the similarity. Well then, if the devils are whigs, because they agree in that  
 point which constitutes them devils, then whigs (*quatenus* whigs) are devils, because they agree in that  
 point. But the Gentleman could not discern the tendency of his own reasoning!



what are the Republicans of Athens, Thebes, and Rome? Epaminondas must be Satan; L. J. Brutus Moloch (though Moloch was a king), and Aristides Beelzebub. Had not those States opposed, the Persian would have met with no barrier in the stretching of his conquests, and distant England might have had the glory of being enslaved by a monarch robed in diamonds. Greece he might stile the earthly Pandemonium. But does he not perceive yet the indecency, the inhumanity, of likening his adversaries to devils? Much greater is the atrocity of comparing his mortal favourites to the adorable Godhead. We ought to avoid perhaps the appearance of such impiety; else we might insist that our triform legislature, constituting one indivisible power, and called (by too bold a figure indeed) the omnipotence of parliament, is a poor unworthy emblem, but the worthiest upon earth of the triune divinity: That the attributes of goodness in the popular assembly, of wisdom in the aristocratical select, and of power in the King, are such as form the perfections of God himself; and that these collated excellencies remove the inconvenience and danger of conferring such amplitude of dominion on a single person, who, if an upright prince, would adsorb his subjects glory in his own capacity, if a tyrant would render them unhappy. A strange infatuation of setting up one man in opposition to this scheme hath so far blinded the understandings of many to their own interest, to reason, to benevolence, that they imagine, I believe, as little can be said in favour of their opponents as in defence of the excise. However, before they make so free with the characters of the Whigs, among the abettors of which system may be reckoned the most conspicuous men in every age and nation, it would become them to inform themselves what those Whigs profess, of which they seem altogether ignorant, that is, of the constitution. Let them study the exordium of English history; they will find our primogenitors did not bequeath us slavery, but freedom: that parliaments, under another name, exercised authority before the creation of a sole executive magistrate: that the founders of our constitution might have modelled the government as they pleased, an absolute democracy or monarchy, no natural or revealed law of God prescribing the peculiar form to any state, except the Jews: that the original compact is the foundation of authority: they will find, lastly, the right of resistance not granted, but promulgated, and insisted on, a right of man, which, as the dernier resource from oppression, was not resigned when he entered into society. Where then is the command, to make to ourselves a king, and fall down and worship him? Is it discoverable by the light of reason? Ask Mr. Locke, the scourge of that opinion. Is it enjoined in Scripture? We confess no absolute maxims of government can be drawn from the Jewish theocracy, the revolutions in which state were the immediate work of Providence, but otherwise the passages which seem to favour liberty are the more numerous, the more material. Is it the doctrine of the New Testament then? The very reverse is there prescribed, nor can the words which command obedience be in any wise confined to monarchies. Obey to whatever hands the supreme right of legislation is confided. It is indeed of the Divine will that power should be, that we should not live lawless and without controul, but the molding of that power is confided to man. Be subject to the higher powers, whether they be such as are ordained in France or  
Swit-

Switzerland, *ὡς αὐτὴν ἀνθρώπων κτίσεν* (1 Pet. ii. 13.) to every created form of government, created by man. I hope, Sir, you will think there is a sufficient connection between my subject and this digression, to prevent its being thought misapplied; I am sure it is not unreasonable. I have been the more particular, because I always understood these things in the opposite light; I thought the rebellion of the apostate angels was so far from being analogous to the case of men striving for liberty against men, that the general reason given against conferring such might, majesty, and power, on a weak mortal, was the frailty of human nature, and a disposition the reverse of those attributes which in their infinite degree constitute divinity. I humbly conceived the Tory plan, where man assumes a right of dominion over man, was nearer related to Satan's aim of setting himself in glory above his peers. How different the case of absolute perfection united with absolute dominion! Such was Milton's sense; nor have I found occasion to alter my opinion of the poet, or of the principles in dispute. Lastly, as prejudice is blind, I must advertise my opponent, who seems to thirst after an opportunity of wrangling, that in this essay I have only stood on the defensive, and avoided all reproachful terms on such high provocation: if he reaffirms such principles of slavery, I shall consider him as guilty of wilful and high treason against the public; for it naturally occurs, that in this debate writers on the one side must be actuated by spleen, self-interest, or infatuation; on the other, by a diffusive benevolence to mankind. After all, he will be less criminal than the wretch who would drown a nation's cries with the torrent of corruption;—in vain; the voice of an injured people, like the sword of Michael, will hunt him from his seat of bliss, and then at least we may attribute to him the words of the infernal serpent,

I am to haste,  
And all who under me their banners wave,  
Homeward with flying march, where we possess  
The quarters of the north.

Milt. Par. Lost, B. V. v. 688.

## N° XII.

Extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative-Court of Canterbury.

Mense Februarii, 167 $\frac{4}{5}$ .

Per Decretum verbo (abintestato) decedente in administrati- one omisso.	JOHANNES MILTON, Vicefimo quinto die	} ult. Julii.
	Emanavit Commissio Elizabethæ Milton Relictæ Jo-	
	hannis Milton nuper Parochiæ Sti. Agidii Cripple-	
	gate in Comitatu Middlesexiæ defuncti habentis	
	&c. ad administrandum bona jura et credita dicti	} ult. Decembris.
	defuncti de bene &c. Jurat. Testamento nuncupativo	
	dicti defuncti alias per antedictam Elizabetham Mil-	
	ton allegato nondum probato.	

W. LEGARD,	} Deputy Registers.
PET. ST. ELOY,	
HEN. STEVENS.	

## N° XIII.

Some remarkable Certificates, given by Sir T. Fairfax,  
in favour of Mr. John Sharp.

Communicated June 25, 1770, by Mr. Benjamin Bartlet to T. H.

The Seal in wafer.	I DO acknowledge, that John Sharp hath deservedly received a medal from the Parliament and city of London, in remembrance of his faith- ful service under my command in the year 1645.
The General's Arms.	

FAIRFAX.

The Seal in Wax.	SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, Knight, Commander in Chief of all the land forces under the pay of the Parliament, within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and in the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, in order to the security and peace of the kingdom, reducing of Ireland, and disbanding of such as shall be thought fit by both Houses.
Arms.	

I do hereby acknowledge, that Mr. John Sharp hath deservedly received  
a medall from the Parliament and City of London, in remembrance of  
his faithful service under my command.

Given under my hand and seal, at Kingston, the 30th day of August, 1647.

FAIRFAX.

The



The above-mentioned John Sharp lived at Horton, in the parish of Bradford, in Yorkshire. One of the medals was the silver one, with the General's titles, which I have formerly seen at the house, but now cannot be found. The other, the small gold, without the titles, now in the possession of Charles Swain Booth Sharp, Esq. the present owner of the above said John Sharp's estate. 1770.

N. B. The certificates are printed upon parchment, and both filled up by the General.

Mr. Abraham Sharp of Horton, near Bradford, Yorkshire, an excellent person, an accomplished mathematician and antiquary, lived at Horton; but whether the immediate predecessor to Charles Swain Booth Sharp, Esq. we know not.

\*\*\* The article intended for N° XIV. is omitted.

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N° XV.

E X T R A C T S

Taken from the Common Council Book of the Republic of Bern, in Switzerland, by Mr. Stettler, Clerk of the Chancery, in June, 1758.

To the Bailliff of Laufanne.

THEIR Graces, having been informed, by way of a common report, that one of the Englishmen, residing at Laufanne, had been murdered and shot to death; desire and bid Mr. S. to procure all the intelligence necessary: therefore order him to enquire, how it happened? what zeal and dispositions the city had manifested? what particulars had been obtained by enquiries? and to communicate to their Graces every circumstance.

And, to shew to the other remaining Englishmen their Graces compassion, order the Bailiff to condole with them in their Graces name, and friendly to warn them to be upon their guard.

Actum 18 Augusti, 1664.

To Mr. Polier, at Laufanne.

THEIR Graces hear, by an ample information received about the death-shot, and assassinate, committed on a certain Englishman, named Philt, of the city's zeal and diligence in their enquiries after the truth, of which they declare their thankful satisfaction; judging Mr. Polier quite free of all suspicion, in regard of the known letter, and bidding him to continue in his assiduity.

To

To the Bailliff of Laufanne.

THEIR Graces being informed, by the circumstantial information, transmitted to them, of the unfortunate murder of a certain English gentleman, by the name of Philt, that his Lieutenant was standing hard by him when he was shot, and had been near the criminal, when the fact was committed; so that he might have shewn more diligence and zeal in apprehending him: Order to upbraid him for it.

Actum 22 Augusti, 1664.

“ I underwritten, who have translated these extracts from their original German  
“ language into English, attest their authenticity; having been extracted out  
“ of the Common-Council-Book of the Senate of Bern, during my stay in that  
“ city, and by my personal application to Mr. Stettler, one of the keepers of  
“ the Records in Chancery. Witness my hand,

His Seal.

“ RODOLPH DE VALTRAVERS, F. R. and A. S. S.”

From Vevay, in the canton of Bern, in Switzerland.

To the Bailliff of Chitton.

IN answer to his petition for advice how to conduct himself, and what to do about a sealed box, which the lately murdered English Chancery-Clerk had deposited into the hands of the curate of Blonay, with orders to transmit the same, after his decease, to his wife, or to his brother-in-law: their Graces commands and intentions are, that he should advise the curate to keep the said box still some time longer under his custody, and apprise all his countrymen of it that are yet present, so that they might give secret and secure intelligence of it to his wife, and get somebody charged with authentic and sufficient attestations to fetch and receive the said box. It being moreover their Graces opinion, that even then the curate should not deliver his trust, without the Bailliff's knowledge, that he might examine with certainty how far there is any reality in the power, and whether he might trust to the widow's deputy or commissioner.

Dated Aug. 27, 1664.

Instruction to the Hon. Treasurer Steiger.

HAVING deliberated to-day, as it was referred to us, upon the subject of those Englishmen which reside at Vevay: their Graces have not found proper, at present, to desire their further retreat, seeing no reason for it; but to let things remain as they are, in expectation of what events time may produce. That nevertheless he might, after harvest-time, occasionally endeavour to make them sensible, how little they are in safety, where they reside at present; leaving it to their own judgment to seek for shelter somewhere else, and to watch for their security. And their Graces being informed, though they can hardly believe it, that they have armed some men in their defense: he should enquire into the truth of it;  
and

and if the report should be found true, dissuade them from such illegal practices, as a thing of bad consequence.

Dated Aug. 21, 1665.

Instruction to the Dean Hummel.

IT having been reported to their Graces, that those Englishmen residing at Laufane and at Bern, though they are assiduous in hearing of sermons, do not conform themselves however in our practice, in the use of the sacraments, which they do not receive publicly before the congregation, but in private at home : Their Graces desire to know his advice thereupon, and to hear whether or no he had any scruples about it ; if he had any scruple about it, what were his objections? and entreat him for a speedy answer.

Dated Aug. 12, 1668.

To the Bailliff of Nyon.

THEIR Graces hearing, with great displeasure, by his letter of advice, that on Sunday last a party of French troopers, commanded for the purpose, had attacked, in the narrow passage at St. Cergue, an Englishman, who had resided a long time at St. Claude, calling himself de Marfilly, or Roux, with violence, and conducted the same to France; and that in this occasion a servant of Mr. de Ragny, a Fryar of the convent of St. Claude, has, by mistake, been mortally wounded by a pistol or musket-shot, and brought before him; as this is an attempt, which cannot be suffered, nor be passed over, without due resentment and revenge: Their Graces find it necessary to order him to send his Lieutenant to the Bailliff of Gex, to complain to him of so sensible an offence; to ask Lieutenant General Balthasar, whether and what particulars he knows of the matter; and to insist upon the Bailliff's of Gex strict enquiries into the insolences of these troopers, to whom he has allowed quarters in a village opposite to Nyon, taking what measures are necessary to obtain a complete satisfaction for such punishable misdemeanors: Ordering him, in the mean while, to take proper care of the wounded servant, till the time of his recovery, to prevent his escape, and afterwards to ask him seriously whose servant he is? and how his master came in company with the beforementioned Roux? as also how the whole affair happened? Of all which particulars he is ordered to send their Graces an authentic and circumstantial account.

Dated May 7, 1669.



A Proclamation of Charles II. to summon the persons who sat and gave judgment, &c. on his Royal Father of blessed memory.

By the KING.

### A P R O C L A M A T I O N,

To summon the persons therein named, who sat, gave judgment, and assisted in that horrid and detestable murder of His Majesty's Royal Father of blessed memory, to appear and render themselves within fourteen days, under pain of being excepted from pardon.

C H A R L E S R.

C H A R L E S, by the Grace of GOD, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our loving subjects of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Greeting. We, taking notice, by the information of our Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament, of the most horrid and execrable treason and murder committed upon the person, and against the life, crown, and dignity, of our late Royal Father Charles the First, of blessed memory: and that John Lisle, William Say, Esquires; Sir Hardress Waller; Valentine Wanton, Edward Whalley, esquires; Sir John Bouchier knight; William Heveningham esq. Isaac Pennington alderman of London, Henry Martin, John Barkstead, Gilbert Millington, Edmund Ludlow, John Hutchinson, esquires; Sir Michael Livesay Baronet; Robert Tichborne, Owen Roe, Robert Lilburn, Adrian Scroope, John Okey, John Hewson, William Goffe, Cornelius Holland, John Carew, Miles Corbet, Henry Smith, Thomas Wogan, Edmund Harvey, Thomas Scot, William Cawley, John Downes, Nicholas Love, Vincent Potter, Augustine Garland, John Dixwell, George Fleetwood, Simon Meyne, James Temple, Peter Temple, Daniel Blagrove, and Thomas Wayte, esquires; being deeply guilty of that most detestable and bloody treason, in sitting upon, and giving judgment against the life of our Royal Father; and also John Cooke, who was employed therein as solicitor, Andrew Broughton, and John Phelps, who were employed under the said persons as clerks, and Edward Dendy, who attended them as serjeant at arms, have, out of the sense of their own guilt, lately fled and obscured themselves, whereby they cannot be apprehended and brought to a personal and legal trial for their said treasons according to law. We do therefore, by the advice of our said Lords and Commons, command, publish, and declare, by this our proclamation, that all and every the persons before named, shall, within fourteen days next after the publishing of this our Royal Proclamation, personally appear and render themselves to the Speaker or Speakers of our House of Peers and Commons, or unto the Lord Mayor of our City of London, or to the Sheriffs of our respective counties of England and Wales, under pain of being excepted from any pardon or immunity, both for their respective lives and estates: and that no person or persons shall presume to harbour or conceal any the persons aforesaid, under pain of imprisonment of high treason.

Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 6th day of June, 1660, in the 12th year of our reign.

N<sup>o</sup> XVI.

## A P R O C L A M A T I O N.

For the apprehension of Edmund Ludlow esquire, commonly called Colonel Ludlow.

C H A R L E S R.

W H E R E A S we, by our Proclamation, bearing date the sixth day of June last past, taking notice, by the information of the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, of the most horrid and execrable treason and murder, committed against the person, and against the life, crown, and dignity, of our late Royal Father of blessed memory. And that the persons therein named were deeply guilty thereof, did thereby command, that all and every of them should, within fourteen days next after, personally appear and render themselves, as therein is appointed, under the pain therein also expressed.

And whereas Edmund Ludlow esquire, being one of the persons therein named, did thereupon, render himself; nevertheless hath, since, escaped from out of the custody of the Serjeant at Arms attending on the House of Commons, and is fled, or doth obscure himself, to evade the justice of a legal trial.

We therefore have thought fit, by and with the advice of our privy council, to publish the same to all our loving subjects, not doubting of their care and forwardness in his apprehension. And we do hereby require and command, as well all and singular our judges, justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bayliffs, constables, and headboroughs, as also the officers and ministers of our ports, and other our subjects whatsoever, within our realms of England, Scotland, Ireland, or dominion of Wales, and all other our dominions and territories, to be diligent in enquiring and searching for the said Edmund Ludlow, in all places whatsoever, as well within liberties as without; whom if they shall happen to take, our further will and pleasure is, that they cause him so apprehended to be safely carried before the next justice of the peace to the place where he shall be arrested, whom we straightly command to commit him to prison, and presently inform us, or our privy council, of his said apprehension.

And we do hereby further declare and publish, that if any person or persons, after this our proclamation published, shall, directly or indirectly, conceal, harbour, keep, retain, or maintain, the said Edmund Ludlow, or shall contrive or connive at any means whereby he may escape from being taken or arrested, or shall not use their best endeavours for his apprehension, as well by giving due advertisement thereof to our officers, as by all other good means, we will (as there is just cause) proceed against them that shall so neglect this our commandment with all severity.

And lastly, we do declare, that whosoever shall discover the said Edmund Ludlow, either within our kingdoms of England, Scotland, Ireland, or dominion of Wales, or in any other our dominions and territories or elsewhere beyond the seas, and shall cause him to be apprehended, and brought in as aforesaid, shall have a reward of three hundred pounds in money, to be paid unto him, in recompence of such his service.

Given at our court at Whitehall, the 1st day of September, 1660, in the 12th year of our reign.

N<sup>o</sup> XVI. (3.)

By the KING.

## A P R O C L A M A T I O N,

For apprehension of Edward Whalley and William Goffe.

CHARLES R.

FORASMUCH as Edward Whalley, commonly known by the name of Colonel Whalley, and William Goffe, commonly called Colonel Goffe, are, amongst others, by an act of this present parliament, intituled, “ An Act of Free and General Pardon, Indemnity, and oblivion,” wholly excepted from pardon, and left to be proceeded against as traitors, for their execrable treasons in sentencing to death, signing the instrument for the horrid murder, or being instrumental in taking away the precious life of our late dear Father of blessed memory.

And forasmuch as they the said Edward Whalley and William Goffe, having absented and withdrawn themselves, and fled, as we have been informed, to the parts beyond the seas, are now, as we certainly understand, lately returned into our kingdom of England, and do privately lurk and obscure themselves in places unknown; we therefore have thought fit, by and with the advice of our privy council, to publish the same to all our loving subjects, not doubting of their care and forwardness in their apprehension: And we do hereby require and command, as well all and singular our judges, justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and headboroughs, as also the officers and ministers of our ports, and other our subjects whatsoever, within our realms of England, Scotland, Ireland, or dominion of Wales, and all other our dominions and territories, to be diligent in enquiring, searching for, seizing and apprehending them, the said Edward Whalley and William Goffe, in all places whatsoever, as well within liberties as without, whom if they shall happen to take and apprehend, our further will and pleasure is, that they cause them, and either of them, so apprehended, to be safely carried to the next justice of the peace, to the place where they, or either of them, shall be arrested, whom we straitly command to commit them and either of them to prison, and presently inform us, or our privy council, of their or either of their apprehensions.

And we do hereby further declare and publish, That if any person or persons, after this our proclamation published, shall, directly or indirectly, conceal, harbour, keep, retain, or maintain, the said Edward Whalley and William Goffe, or either of them, or shall contrive or connive at any means whereby they, or either of them, shall or may escape from being taken or arrested, or shall not use their best endeavour for their and either of their apprehensions, as well by giving due advertisement thereof to our officers, as by all other good means; we will (as there is just cause) proceed against them that shall so neglect this our commandment with all severity.



And lastly, we do hereby declare, that whosoever shall discover the said Edward Whalley or William Goffe, either within our kingdoms of England, Scotland, Ireland, or dominions of Wales, or in any other our dominions and territories, or elsewhere; and shall cause them, or either of them, to be apprehended and brought in, alive or dead, if they, or either of them, attempting resistance, happen to be slain, shall have a reward of one hundred pounds in money for each of them so brought in, dead or alive, as aforesaid, to be forthwith paid unto him, in recompence of such his service.

Given at our court at Whitehall, the two and twentieth day of September, in the twelfth year of our reign.

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N<sup>o</sup> XVI. (4.)

A Protestation of Charles I.

That the mouthes of all schismatical and seditious persons may be stopped (who endeavour to bring their Sovereign into hatred with his people, by scandalizing his sacred majesty with a purpose to alter our religion, and introduce popery) here is published to the view of all the world his majesty's solemne Protestation (which he made in the presence of God and the congregation, before he received the blessed sacrament) at Christ's-Church, in Oxford, 1643, which neither adversity nor prosperity can ever make him violate.

His MAJESTY'S late

P R O T E S T A T I O N,

Before his receiving of the Sacrament.

His Majesty being to receive the sacrament from the hands of the Archbishop of Armagh, used these public expressions immediately before; he rose up from his knees, and beckoning to the Archbishop for a short forbearance, made this protestation.

MY Lord, I espy here many resolved protestants, who may declare to the world the resolution I do now make: "I have, to the utmost of my power, prepared my soule to become  
" a worthy receiver; and may I so receive comfort by this holy communion as I doe intend  
" the establishment of the true reformed Protestant Religion, as it stood in its beautie, in the  
" happie dayes of Queene Elizabeth. I blesse God, in the midst of the public distractions,  
" I have still libertie to communicate; and may this sacrament be my damnation if my heart  
" doe not joyne with my lips in this protestation!"

A PRAYER for the KING, to be frequently and fervently said of all loyal subjects.

“ O MOST gracious and most glorious LORD GOD, we humbly pray thee, for the merits of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, to look down, with much pity and compassion, upon the sad and suffering condition of thy servant and our sovereign the King ! O let his life be right deare and precious in thy sight ! LORD, remember him and all his trouble, how he sware unto the LORD, and vowed a vow unto the Almighty GOD of Jacob ! O save and deliver him, according to thy mercy, that all the world may know that this is thy hand, and that thou, LORD, hast done it ! though his enemies curse, yet bleſſe thou ! and let them be confounded that rise up against him, but let thy Servant rejoyce ! O be with him in trouble, deliver him, and bring him to honor ! satisfy him with long life, and shew him thy salvation ! Remember, LORD, the reproach that thy servant hath, and how he doth bear in his bosom the rebukes of many people, wherewith thine enemies have blasphemed thee, and slandered the foot-steps of thine anointed ! wherefore we beseech thee to comfort him again now, after the time that thou hast afflicted him, and for the years wherein he hath suffered adversity ! shew thy servant thy work, and his royal children thy glory ! and the glorious Majesty of the LORD our GOD be upon all those that endeavour his re-inthroning ! prosper thou the work of their hands upon them, O prosper thou their handy work ! O satisfy us with this mercy, and that soon, so shall we be glad and rejoyce all the days of our life, and join with our gracious king in giving praise to Thee who livest and reignest world without end ! Amen.”

Printed in the year 1648.

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Nº XVII.

A Copy of a Letter to the town of Abingdon.

JAMES R.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well, where we have, by our order in council, thought fit to remove James Corderoy from being mayor and one of the aldermen of that our towne of Abingdon; John Saunders, Richard Pulſey, James Curtine junior, Thomas Saunders, and Jonathan How, from being aldermen; Thomas King, and Thomas Cheney, from being bailiffes and common councill-men; Simon Harcourt, esq. from being recorder; and Richard Hart from being towne-clerk, of our said towne; we have thought fit hereby to will and require you forthwith to elect and admit our trusty and well-beloved William Foster to be mayor and one of the aldermen; John Tomkins, William Weston, Arthur Herne, William Hawkins, and Philip Lochton, to be aldermen; John Jennings, and George Drew, to be bailiffes and common-councillmen; Thomas Medlicott, esq. to be recorder; and Henry Knap, gentleman, to be towne-clerk of our said towne, in the room of the persons above-mentioned, without administering unto them any oath or oaths, but the usual oath for the  
execution

execution of their respective places, with which we are pleased to dispense in this behalf: and for so doing this shall be your warrant. And so we bid you farewell.

Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 28th day of November, 1687, in the third year of our reigne.

By his Majesty's command,

SUNDERLAND, P.

Town of Abingdon.

Sealed with the privy seal.

Directed on the out side,  
To our trusty and well-beloved  
the aldermen and corporation  
of our town of Abingdon, in  
our county of Berks.

To shew to Britons, and their children's children, for ever!

T. Hollis, Apr. 14, 1755.

#### Nº XVIII.

#### Character of Buchanan, from Bishop Burnet.

AMONG those that were at this time in hazard, George Buchanan was one. The clergy were resolved to be revenged on him for the sharpness of the poems he had written against them. And the king had so absolutely left all men to their mercy, that he had died with the rest if he had not made his escape out of prison: then he went beyond sea, and lived 20 years in that exile, and was forced to teach a school most part of the time: yet the greatness of his mind was not oppressed with that mean employment. In his writings there appears, not only all the beauty and graces of the Latin tongue, but a vigor of mind and quickness of thought, far beyond Bembo, or the other Italians, who at that time affected to revive the purity of the Roman stile. It was but a feeble imitation of Tully in them; but his stile is so natural and nervous, and his reflections on things are so solid (besides his immortal poems, in which he shews how well he could imitate all the Roman poets in their several ways of writing, that he who compares them will be often tempted to prefer the copy to the original) that he is justly reckoned the greatest and best of our modern authors.



## Character of Buchanan from Thuanus.

GEORGIUS BUCHANANUS, vir ingenii felicitate et scribendi facultate, quod ejus scripta ad omnem aeternitatem visura vel fatente invidia testantur, nostra aetate incomparabilis, in Levinia Scotiae provincia ad Blanum amnem natus, sed adoptione nostras, qualis Antonius Goveanus Lusitanus, summus et ipse Buchananus amicus, dici et existimari volebat, nam post prima utriusque linguae tirocinia apud suos facta, omnem fere aetatem in Gallia exegit, Luteriae literas humaniores primum professus, et postea Burdegala in Gymnasio Aquitano; unde ab Andrea Goveano in Lusitaniam, cum Nicolao Gruchio, Gulielmo Gurentaro, Jacobo Tevio, Elia Vineto, et Patricio fratre abductus Conimbricae juventuti erudiendae operam dedit; toto eo tempore insignem illam poeticam Psalmorum Paraphrasim commentatus. Dum in Lusitania esset, ob liberius carmen in Franciscanos scriptum exagitatus est, quamvis Jacobi V. Scotorum Regis jussu id fecisset, ultionem contra eos quaerentis, quod in conjuratione a quibusdam e Nobilitate contra se inita minus sincere versatos illos persuasum haberet. Inde in Galliam reversus operam suam Timoleonti Cossaeo Brissaci equitum tribuni filio addixit, cum quo quinquennium totum haesit, & ad annum usque 1560, quo bellorum civilium apud nos ardente incendio, ad patriam antiquam, alumna et nutrice Gallia relicta, reversus est. Ibi Protestantium doctrinam palam amplexus, tandemque post regno exutam Mariam Reginam, erudiendo Jacobo VI. ejus filio appositus, in senili otio patriam historiam aggressus est; quam tanta puritate, prudentia et acumine scripsit, quamvis interdum libertate genti innata, contra Regium fastigium acerbior, ut ea scriptio non hominem in pulvere literario versatum, sed in media hominum luce et in tractandis reipublicae negotiis tota vita exercitatum redoleat: adeo ingenii felicitas et animi magnitudo omnia obscurae et humilis fortuna impedimenta ab eo removerant, ut propterea non minus recte de maximis rebus judicare et scribere prudenter posset. Et sane memini Petrum Bonsardum, virum acerrimi judicii, qui licet in dispari fortuna constitutus tota vita scholastico otio oblectatus fuerat, cum de Buchanano, Hadriano Turnebo, Antonio Goveano, M. Antonio Mureto, quibuscum arcta amicitia conjunctus fuerat, verba faceret, dicere solitum, illos homines nihil paedagogicae praeter togam et pileum habuisse, et tamen de vulgo paedagogorum sic censere, nunquam incorrigibilis ineptiae ex paedagogica contractae characterem vel longissimi aevi curriculo deleri posse.

## N° XX.

The Scotch Act prohibiting Buchanan's history and dialogue  
De jure regni apud Scotos.

The following Act, &c. is transcribed from an entry in a blank leaf of Mr. Hollis's copy of Buchanan's Treatise De jure regni apud Scotos.

INTER Acta Parliamenti tenti sub regno Jacobi Sexti Scotorum Regis Edinburgi, 22 die Maii, Anno Domini 1584. Lex lata fuit, cui titulus:

"Ane Act for punisment of the authoris of the slanderus and untrew calumnies spokin  
"aganis the Kingis Majestie, his counsell and proceedingis or to the dishonour and pre-  
"judice of his Hienes, his parentis, progenituris, crown, and estate, Cap. VIII."

In parte hujus legis posteriore statutum est ut sequitur; viz.

"Attoure, because it is understand to his Hienes, and to his thrie estatis, that the bukis  
"of the chronicle de jure regni apud Scotos made be umquhile Maiter George Bucha-  
"nane, and imprentit sensyne contenis syndrie offensive mattis worthie to be delet, it is  
"thairfor statute and ordinit, That the havearis of the saidis twa volumis in thair handis  
"imbring and delyver the same to my Lord Secretare, or his deputis, within fourty dayes  
"after the publicatioun heirof, to the effect that the saidis volumis may be perusit and  
"purgit of the offensive and extraordinare materis specifit theirin, not mete to remane as  
"recordis of treuth to the posteritie, under the pane of tua hundreth poundis of euerie  
"persoun failzing heirin and quhair ony ar not responsall to pay the said soume, to be pu-  
"nissit in thair persounis at our fouerane Lordis will. And to the effect that this ordinance  
"may cum to the knowlege of all our fouerane Lordis Liegis, ordinis publicatioun to be  
"maid thairof, at the marcat-croces of the heid burrowis of the schyris, and utheris places  
"neidful, that nane pretend ignorance thairof. And the penaltie contenit thairin to be  
"execute with all rigour aganis the haverris of the saidis bukis the said space of fourtie  
"dayis being bypast after the publicatioun and proclamatioun of the said Act in everie  
"schyre, as said is."

12<sup>mo</sup> die Martii, 1716.

Hanc partem statuti exscripsi ex libro actorum, apud Arbuthnetum, Edinburgi impresso eodem anno, viz. 1584, quo lata fuerunt. In editione Moraviana, 1681, reperienda est ad pag. 239, in capite cui titulus 134, Anent slanderers of the king, his progenitours, estait, and realm.

## Character of Buchanan, from Archbishop Spotswood.

BEFORE I enter upon the accidents of the next year, the death of Mr. George Buchanan, which happened in the end of September, must not be passed; a man so well deserving of his country, as none more: he was of an excellent wit, and learning incomparable, born nigh to the Highlands, within the parish of Killern, and of the house of Drunmakill. His uncle by the mother, called Herriot, took care to have him trained up in letters, perceiving his inclination to be set that way; wherein he profited so much as he went beyond all his instructors; nature, it seems, having formed him thereunto. In the year 1539, being called in question by the Franciscan Friars, upon the malice they bare him for some bitter verses written against them and their profession, which he did to please king James the Fifth, whom they had in some things offended; he was committed, as suspected of Lutheranism, but made an escape to France, where he lived a long time, and became acquainted with many learned men, with which that country did then abound. His paraphrase of the Psalms, a rare work; and other poems, he wrote, for most part, whilst he stayed abroad; and for his learning and quick ingeny was admired of all men. Returning into Scotland about the year 1560, after he had professed philosophy some years in S. Leonard's College, within the university of S. Andrew's, he was chosen to attend the king, and bring him up in letters. In his age he applied himself to write the Scottish History, which he penned with such judgment and eloquence as no country can shew a better. Only in this is he justly blamed, that with the factions of the time, and to justify the proceedings of the noblemen against the queen, he went too far in depressing the royal authority of princes, and allowing their controlment by subjects: his bitterness also in writing of the queen, and troubles of the time, all wise men have disliked. But otherwise, no man did merit better of his nation for learning, nor thereby did bring to it more glory. He died in a great age, at Edinburgh; and was buried in the common place, though worthy to have been laid in marble, and have had some statue erected for his memory. But such pompous monuments in his life he was wont to scorn and despise, esteeming it a greater credit, as it was said of the Roman Cato, to have it asked, why he doth lack a statue, than to have had one, though never so glorious, erected.



Nº XXII.

A D E C R E E of Starre-Chamber, concerning P R I N T I N G.

Made the eleventh day of July last past. 1637.

Imprinted at London, by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majestie :

And by the Assignes of John Bill. 1637.

In Camera Stellata coram Concilio ibidem, undecimo die Julii, anno decimo tertio  
C A R O L I Regis.

THIS day Sir John Bankes, Knight, his Majesties Attourney Generall, produced in court a decree, drawn and penned by the aduice of the Right Honourable the Lord Keeper of the Great Seale of England, the most Reuerend Father in God the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, his Grace the Right Honourable and Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of London Lord High Treasurer of England, the Lord Chiefe Justices, and the Lord Chiefe Baron, touching the regulating of printers and founders of letters, whereof the court having consideration, the said decree was directed, and ordered to be here recorded, and to the end the same may be publique, and that euery one whom it may concerne may take notice thereof, the court hath now also ordered, that the said decree shall speedily be printed, and that the same be sent to his Majesties printer for that purpose. Whereas the three and twentieth day of Iune, in the eight and twentieth yere of the reigne of the late Queene Elizabeth, and before, diuers decrees and ordinances haue been made, for the better gouernment and regulating of printers and printing; which orders and decrees haue beene found by experience to be defectiue in some particulars; and diuers abuses haue sithence arisen, and been practised by the craft and malice of wicked and euill disposed persons, to the preiudice of the publike; and diuers libellous, seditious, and mutinous bookes haue been vnduly printed, and other bookes and papers without licence, to the disturbance of the peace of the church and state. For preuention whereof in time to come, It is now Ordered and Decreed, That the said former Decrees and Ordinances shall stand in force, with these additions, explanations, and alterations, following; *viz.*

In Camera Stellata coram Concilio ibidem, vndecimo die Julii, anno decimo tertio  
C A R O L I Regis.

*Imprimis*, That no person or persons whatsoever shall presume to print, or cause to be printed, either in the parts beyond the seas, or in this realme, or other his Maiesties dominions, any seditious, scismaticall, or offensive bookes or pamphlets, to the scandall of religion or the church, or the government, or governours of the church or state, or commonwealth, or of any corporation, or particular person or persons whatsoever, nor shall import any such booke or bookes, nor sell or dispose of them, or any of them, nor cause any such

to be bound, stitched, or sowed, vpon paine that he or they so offending shall loose all such bookes and pamphlets, *and also haue, and suffer such correction, and severe punishment*, either by fine, imprisonment, or other corporall punishment, or otherwise, as by *this court, or by his Maiesties commissioners for causes ecclesiasticall in the high commission court*, respectiuely, as the severall causes shall require, *shall be thought fit to be inflicted upon him or them*, for such their offence and contempt.

II. *Item*, That no person or persons whatsoever, shall at any time print, or cause to be imprinted, any booke or pamphlet *whatsoever*; vnlesse the same booke or pamphlet, and also all and euery the titles, epistles, prefaces, proems, preambles, introductions, tables, dedications, and other matters and things whatsoever thereunto annexed, or therewith imprinted, *shall be first lawfully licenced and authorized onely by such person and persons as are hereafter expressed, and by no other*, and shall be also first entred into the register's booke of the company of stationers; vpon paine that euery printer offending therein, shall be for cuer hereafter disabled to use or exercise the art or mysterie of printing, *and receiue such further punishment as by this court, or the high commission court respectiuely*, as the severall causes shall require, *shall be thought fitting*.

\* III. *Item*, That all bookes concerning the common lawes of this realme shall be printed by the especiall allowance of the Lords Chiefe Iustices, and the Lord Chiefe Baron for the time being, or one or more of them, or by their appointment: and that all books of history belonging to this state and present times, or any other booke of state affaires, shall be licenced by the principall secretaries of state, or one of them, or by their appointment; and that all bookes concerning heraldry, titles of honour and armes, or otherwise, concerning the office of Earle Marshall, shall be licenced by the Earle Marshall, or by his appointment; and further, that all other books, whether of diuinitie, phisicke, philosophie, poetry, or whatsoever, shall be allowed by the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, or bishop of London for the time being, or by their appointment, or the Chancellours, or Vice-Chancellors of either of the Vniuersities of this realme for the time being.

Alwayes prouided, that the Chancellour or Vice-Chancellour, of either of the Vniuersities, shall licence onely such booke or bookes that are to be printed within the limits of the vniuersities respectiuely, but not in London, or elsewhere, not meddling either with bookes of the common law, or matters of state.

IV. *Item*, That euery person and persons which by any decree of this court are, or shall be, appointed or authorized to licence bookes, or giue warrant for imprinting thereof, as is aforesaid, shall haue two seuerall written copies of the same booke or bookes with the titles, epistles, prefaces, proems, preambles, introductions, tables, dedications, and other things whatsoever thereunto annexed. One of which said copies shall be kept in the publike registries of the said Lord Archbishop, and Bishop of London respectiuely, or in the office of the Chancellour, or Vice-Chancellour of either of the vniuersities, or with the Earle Marshall, or Principall Secretaries of State, or with the Lords Chiefe Iustices, or Chiefe Baron,

\* Observe well this third section.

of all such bookes as shall be licensed by them respectiue, to the end that he or they may be secure, that the copy so licensed by him or them shall not bee altered without his or their priuie, and the other shall remain with him whose copy it is, and vpon both the said copies he or they that shall allow the said booke, shall testifie vnder his or their hand or hands, that there is nothing in that booke or books contained, *that is contrary to Christian faith, and the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, nor against the state or gouernment,* nor contrary to good life, or good manners, or otherwise, as the nature and subiect of the work shall require; which license or approbation shall be imprinted in the beginning of the same booke, with the name or names of him or them that shall authorize or license the same, for a testimonie of the allowance thereof.

V. *Item, That euery merchant of bookes, and person and persons whatsoever, which doth, or hereafter shall buy, import, or bring any booke or bookes into this realme, from any parts beyond the seas, shall, before such time as the same book or books, or any of them be deliuered forth, or out of his or their hand or hands, or exposed to sale, giue and present a true catalogue in writing of all and euery such booke and bookes vnto the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, or Lord Bishop of London for the time being, vpon paine to haue and suffer such punishment for offending herein, as by this court, or by the said high commission court respectiue, as the seuerall causes shall require, shall be thought fitting.*

VI. *Item, That no merchant, or other person or persons whatsoever, which shall import, or bring any book or books into the kingdome, from any parts beyond the seas, shall presume to open any dry-fats, bales, packs, maunds, or other fardels of books, or wherein books are; nor shall any searcher, wayter, or other officer belonging to the customehouse, vpon pain of losing his or their place or places, suffer the same to passe, or to be deliuered out of their hands or custody, before such time as the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, or Lord Bishop of London, or one of them for the time being, haue appointed one of their chaplains, or some other learned man, with the master and wardens of the company of stationers, or one of them, and such others as they shall call to their assistance to be present at the opening thereof, and to view the same: and if there shall happen to be found any seditious, schismaticall, or offensive booke or bookes, they shall forthwith be brought vnto the said Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Bishop of London for the time being, or one of them, or to the high commission office, to the end that as well the offender or offenders may be punished by the Court of Star-chamber, or the high Commission-court respectiue, as the seuerall causes shall require, according to his or their demerit; as also that such further course and order may be taken concerning the same booke or bookes as shall bee thought fitting.*

VII. *Item, That no person or persons shall, within this kingdome, or elsewhere, imprint, or cause to be imprinted, nor shall import or bring in, or cause to be imported or brought into this kingdome, from or out of any other his Maiesties dominions, nor from other, or any parts beyond the seas, any copy, booke or books, or any part of any booke or bookes, printed beyond the seas, or elsewhere, which the said Company of Stationers, or any other person or persons haue, or shall, by any letters patents, order, or entrance in their register-book, or*



otherwise, haue the right, priuiledge, authoritie, or allowance soly to print, nor shall bind, stich, or put to sale, any such booke or bookes, vpon paine of losse and forfeiture of all the said bookes, and *of such fine or other punishment*, for euery booke or part of a booke so imprinted or imported, bound, stiched, or put to sale, to be leuyed of the party so offending, *as by the power of this court, or the high Commission-court respectiuelly*, as the severall causes shall require, *shall be thought fit*.

\* VIII. *Item*, Euery person and persons that shall hereafter print, or cause to be printed, any bookes, ballads, charts, portraiture, or any other thing or things whatsoever, shall thereunto or thereon print and set his and their owne name or names, as also the name or names of the author or authors, maker or makers of the same, and by or for whom any such booke, or other thing, is or shall be printed, vpon pain of forfeiture of all such books, ballads, chartes, portraitures, and other thing or things, printed contrary to this article; and the presses, letters, and other instruments for printing, wherewith such books, ballads, chartes, portraitures, and other thing or things, shall be printed, to be defaced and made vsueruiceable, and the party and parties so offending, to be fined, imprisoned, *and haue such other corporall punishment, or otherwise, as by this honourable court, or the said high commission respectiuelly*, as the severall causes shall require, *shall be thought fit*.

IX. *Item*, That no person or persons whatsoever shall hereafter print, or cause to be printed, or shall forge, put, or counterfeit, in, or vpon any booke or books, the name, title, marke, or vinnet, of the company or society of stationers, or of any particular person or persons, which hath or shall haue lawfull priuiledge, authoritie, or allowance, to print the same, without the consent of the said company, or party or parties, that are or shall be so priuiledged, authorized, or allowed to print the same booke or books, thing or things, first had and obtained, vpon paine that euery person or persons so offending shall not onely lose all such books and other things, but shall also haue, and *suffer* sutch punishment, by imprisonment of his body, fine, or *otherwise*, as by this honourable court, or high commission-court respectiuelly, as the severall causes shall require, *it shall be to him or them limited or adiudged*.

X. *Item*, That no haberdasher of small wares, ironmonger, chandler, shopkeeper, or any other person or persons whatsoever, not hauing beene seuen yeeres apprentice to the trade of a bookseller, printer, or book-binder, shall, within the citie or suburbs of London, or in any other corporation, market-towne, or elsewhere, receive, take, or buy, to barter, sell againe, change, or do away, any bibles, testaments, psalm-books, primers, abcees, almanackes, or other booke or books whatsoever, vpon pain of forfeiture of all such books so receiued, bought or taken as aforesaid, and such other punishment of the parties so offending, as by this court, or the said high commission-court respectiuelly, as the severall causes shall require, shall be thought meet.

XI. *Item*, *For that printing is, and for many yeers hath been, an art and manufacture of this kingdome* †, for the better encouraging of printers in their honest and iust endeauours in

\* Observe well Section VIII.

† What is it now?

their profession, and prevention of diuers libels, pamphlets, and seditious books printed beyond the seas in English, and thence transported hither :

It is further Ordered and Decreed, That no merchant, bookseller, or other person or persons whatsoever, shall imprint, or cause to be imprinted, in the parts beyond the seas, or elsewhere, nor shall import or bring, nor willingly assist or consent to the importation or bringing from beyond the seas into this realme, any English bookes, or part of bookes, or bookes whatsoever, which are or shall be, or the greater, or more part whereof, is or shall be English, or of the English tongue, whether the same book or bookes haue been here formerly printed, or not, vpon paine of the forfeiture of all such English bookes so imprinted or imported, and such further censure and punishment as by this court, or the said high commission-court respectiue, as the severall causes shall require, *shall be thought meet.*

XII. *Item*, That no stranger or foreigner whatsoever be suffered to bring in, or vent here, any booke or bookes printed beyond the seas, in any language whatsoever, either by themselves or their secret factors, except such onely as bee free stationers of London, and such as haue beene brought vp in that profession, and haue their whole meanes of subsistence and livelihood depending thereupon, vpon paine of confiscation of all such books so imported, and such further penalties, as by this court, or the high commission-court respectiue, as the severall causes shall require, *shall be thought fit to be imposed.*

XIII. *Item*, That no person or persons within the citie of London, or the liberties thereof, or elsewhere, shall erect, or cause to be erected, any presse or printing-house, nor shall demise or let, or suffer to be held or vsed, any house, vault, feller, or other roome whatsoever, to, or by any person or persons, for a printing-house, or place to print in, vnlesse he or they which shall so demise or let the same, or suffer the same to be so vsed, shall first giue notice to the said master and wardens of the company of stationers for the time being, of such demise, or suffering to worke or print there, vpon paine of imprisonment, and such other punishment as by this court, or the said high-commission court respectiue, as the severall causes shall require, shall bee thought fit.

XIV. *Item*, That no ioyner or carpenter, or other person, shall make any printing presse, no smith shall forge any iron worke for a printing-presse, and no founder shall cast any letters for any person or persons whatsoever, neither shall any person or persons bring, or cause to be brought in from any parts beyond the seas, any letters founded or cast, nor buy any such letters for printing; vnlesse he or they respectiue shall first acquaint the said master and wardens, or some of them, for whom the same presse, iron-works, or letters, are to be made, forged, or cast, vpon paine of such fine and punishment as this court, or the high-commission court respectiue, as the severall causes shall require, shall thinke fit.

\* XV. *Item*, The court doth declare, that as formerly, *so now, there shall be but Twentie Master Printers allowed to haue the vse of one presse or more*, as is after specified, and doth

\* Observe well Section XV.

hereby

hereby nominate, allow, and admit, these persons whose names hereafter follow, to the number of twenty, to have the use of a presse, or presses and printing-house, for the time being; *viz.* Felix Kingston, Adam Illip, Thomas Purfoot, Miles Fleisher, Thomas Harper, John Beale, John Legat, Robert Young, John Haviland, George Miller, Richard Badger, Thomas Cotes, Bernard-Alfop, Richard Bishop, Edward Griffin, Thomas Purflow, Richard Hodgkinsonne, John Dawson, John Raworth, Marmaduke Parsons. And further, *the court doth order and decree*, That it shall be lawful for the *Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Lord Bishop of London*, for the time being, taking to him or them six other high commissioners, to supply the place or places of those, which are now already printers by this court, as they shall fall void by death, or censure, or otherwise: provided that they exceed not the number of Twentie, besides his Maiesties printers, and the printers allowed for the vniversities.

XVI. *Item*, That euery person or persons, now allowed or admitted to haue the use of a presse and printing-house, shall, within ten dayes after the date hereof, *become bound with sureties to his Maiestie in the high commission court*, in the sum of three hundred pounds, not to print, or suffer to be printed in his house or presse, any booke, or bookes whatsoever, but such as shall from time to time be lawfully licensed, and that the like bond shall be entered into by all, and euery person and persons that hereafter shall be admitted, or allowed to print, *before he or they be suffered to haue the use of a presse*.

XVII. *Item*, That no allowed printer shall keepe aboue two presses, vnlesse he hath been master or vpper warden of his company, *who are thereby allowed to keep three presses and no more*, vnder paine of being disabled for euer after to keepe or vse any presse at all, vnlesse for some great and speciall occasion for the publike, *he or they haue for a time leaue of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, or Lord Bishop of London for the time being*, to haue or vse one or more aboue the foresaid number, as their Lordships, or either of them, shall thinke fit. And whereas there are some master printers that haue at this present one or more presses allowed them by this decree, the court doth further order and declare, that the master and wardens of the company of stationers *doe forthwith* certifie the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Lord bishop of London, what number of presses each master printer hath, that their Lordships, or either of them, taking vnto them six other high commissioners, may take such *present order for the suppressing of the supernumerarie presses, as to their Lordships, or to either of them, shall seem best*.

XVIII. *Item*, That no person or persons *do hereafter reprint, or cause to bee reprinted, any booke or bookes whatsoever* (though formerly printed with licence) *without being reuiewed, and a new licence obtained for the reprinting thereof*. Alwayes prouided, that the stationer or printer bee put to no other charge hereby, but the bringing and leauing of two printed copies of the book to be printed, as is before expressed of written copies, with all such additions as the author hath made.

XIX. *Item*, The court doth declare, as formerly, so now, that no apprentices be taken into any printing-house, otherwise than according to this proportion following; *viz.* euery  
master



master printer that is or hath beene master or upper warden of his company, may haue three apprentices at one time, and no more, and euery master printer that is of the liuerie of his company may haue two apprentices at one time and no more, and euery master printer of the yeomanry of the company may haue one apprentice at one time and no more, neither by copartnership, binding at the scriueners, nor any other way whatsoeuer; neither shall it be lawfull for any master printer when any apprentice or apprentices shall run or be put away, to take another apprentice, or other apprentices in his or their place or places, vnlesse the name or names of him or them so gone away be raced out of the hall-booke, and never admitted again, vpon paine of being for euer disabled of the vse of a presse or printing house, and of such further punishment, as by this court, or the high commission-court respectiuelly, as the seuerall causes shall require, shall be thought fit to be imposed.

\* XX. *Item*, The court doth likewise declare, that because a great part of the secret printing in corners hath been caused for want of orderly employment for iourneymen printers, therefore the court doth hereby require the master and wardens of the company of stationers, to take especiall care that all iourneymen printers, who are free of the company of stationers, shall be set to worke, and employed within their owne company of stationers; for which purpose the court doth also order and declare, that if any iourneyman printer, and free of the company of stationers, who is of honest and good behaviour, and able in his trade, do want employment, he shall repaire to the master and wardens of the companie of stationers, and they or one of them, taking with him or them one or two of the master printers, shall go along with the said iourneyman printer, and shall offer his seruice in the first place to the master printer vnder whom he serued his apprenticeship, if he be liuing, and do continue an allowed printer, or otherwise to any other master printer, whom the master and wardens of the said company shall thinke fit. And euery master printer shall bee bound to employ one iourneyman, being so offered to him, and more, if need shall so require, and it shall be so adiudged to come to his share, according to the proportion of his apprentices and employments, by the master and wardens of the company of stationers, although he the said master printer, with his apprentice or apprentices, be able, without the helpe of the said iourneyman or iourneymen to discharge his owne worke, vpon paine of such punishment, as by this court, or the high commission court respectiuelly, as the seuerall causes shall require, shall be thought fit.

XXI. *Item*, The court doth declare, That if the master and wardens of the companie of stationers, or any of them, shall refuse or neglect to go along with any honest and sufficient iourneyman printer, so desiring their assistance, to finde him employment, vpon complaint and prooffe made thereof, he or they so offending shall suffer imprisonment, *and such other punishment as by this court, or the high commission court respectiuelly, as the seuerall causes shall require, shall bee thought fit to bee imposed.* But in case any master printer hath more employment than he is able to discharge with helpe of his apprentice or apprentices, it shall be

\* A very extraordinary Section.

lawfull for him to require the helpe of any journeyman or journeymen printers, who are not employed; and if the said journeyman or journeymen printers so required shall refuse employment, or neglect it when hee or they haue vndertaken it, *he or they shall suffer imprisonment, and vndergo such punishment as this court shall thinke fit.*

XXII. *Item,* The court doth hereby declare, that it doth not hereby restraine the printers of either of the vniuersities from taking what number of apprentices for their seruice in printing there they themselues shall thinke fit. Prouided alwayes, that the said printers in the vniuersities shall imploy all their owne journeymen within themselues, and not suffer any of their said journeymen to go abroad for employment to the printers of London (vnlesse vpon occasion some printers of London desire to imploy some extraordinary workman or workmen amongst them, without preiudice to their owne journeymen, who are freemen) vpon such penalty as the chancellor of either of the vniuersities for the time being shall thinke fit to inflict vpon the delinquents herein.

XXIII. *Item,* That no master printer shall imploy, either to worke at the case or the presse, or otherwise about his printing, any other person or persons, then such onely as are freemen or apprentices to the trade or mystery of printing, vnder paine of being disabled for euer after to keep or vse any presse or printing-house, and such further punishment as by this court, or the high commission court respectiue, as the seuerall causes shall require, shall bee thought fit to bee imposed.

XXIV. *Item,* The court doth hereby declare their firme resolution, that if any person or persons, that is not allowed printer, shall hereafter presume to set vp any presse for printing, or shall worke at any such presse, or set or compose any letters to bee wrought by any such presse; *hee or they so offending shall,* from time to time, *by the order of this court, bee set in the pillorie, and whipt through the citie of London, and suffer such other punishment as this court shall order or thinke fit to inflict vpon them,* vpon complaint or prooue of such offence or offences, or shal be otherwise punished, as the court of high commission shall think fit, *and is agreeable to their commission.*

XXV. *Item,* That for the better discouery of printing in corners without licence, the master and wardens of the company of stationers for the time being, or any two licensed master-printers, which shall be appointed by the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, or Lord B. of London for the time being, *shall haue power and authority to take vnto themselues such assistance as they shall think needful, and to search what houses and shops (and at what time they shall think fit)* especially printing-houses, and to view what is in printing, and to call for the licence to see whether it be licensed or no, and if not, to seize vpon so much as is printed, together with the seuerall offenders, and to bring them before the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Lord Bishop of London for the time being, that they, or either of them, may take such further order therein as shall appertaine to iustice.

XXVI. *Item,* The court doth declare, that it shall be lawfull also for the said searchers, if vpon search they find any book or bookes, or part of booke or books which they suspect to containe matter in it or them, contray to the doctrine and discipline of the church of  
England,

England, or against the state and government, vpon such suspition to seize vpon such book or books, or part of booke or books, and to bring it, or them, to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Lord bishop of London, for the time being, who shall take such further course therein as to their Lordships, or either of them, shall seeme fit.

XXVII. *Item*, The court doth order and declare, that there shall be foure founders of letters for printing allowed, *and no more*; and doth hereby nominate, allow, and admit, these persons whose names hereafter follow, to the number of foure, to be letter-founders for the time being; *viz.* Iohn Grifmand, Thomas Wright, Arthur Nichols, Alexander Fifeild. And further, the court doth order and decree, that it shall be lawfull for the Lord-Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Lord Bishop of London for the time being, taking unto him or them six other high commissioners, to supply the place or places of those who are now allowed founders of letters by this court, as they shall fall void by death, censure, or otherwise.

Provided, That they exceede not the number of foure, set downe by this court. And if any person or persons, not being an allowed founder, shall, notwithstanding, take vpon him or them, to found or cast letters for printing, vpon complaint and prooffe made of such offence, or offences, he or they so offending shal suffer such punishment, as this court, or the high commission court respectiuelly, as the feuerall causes shall require, shall think fit to inflict vpon them.

XXVIII. *Item*, That no master-founder whatsoeuer shall keepe aboue two apprentices at one time, neither by copartnerhip, binding at the scriueners, nor any other way whatsoeuer, neither shall it be lawfull for any master founder, when any apprentice or apprentices shall run or be put away, to take another apprentice, or other apprentices, in his or their place or places, vnlesse the name or names of him or them so gone away, be rased out of the hall-booke of the company, whereof the master-founder is free, and neuer admitted again, vpon pain of such punishment as by this court, or the high commission respectiuelly, as the feuerall causes shall require, shall be thought fit to bee imposed.

XXIX. *Item*, That all iourneymen founders be employed by the master-founders of the said trade, and that idle iourneymen *be compelled to worke* after the same manner, and vpon the same penalties, as in case of the iourneymen-printers is before specified.

XXX. *Item*, That no master-founder of letters shall imploy any other person or persons in any worke belonging to the casting or founding of letters, then such onely as are freemen or apprentices to the trade of founding letters, saue onely in the pulling off the knots of mettle hanging at the ends of the letters when they are first cast, in which work it shall be lawfull for euery master-founder to imploy one boy only that is not, nor hath beene bound to the trade of founding letters, but not otherwise, vpon pain of being for euer disabled to vse or exercise that art, and such further punishment as by this court, or the high commission court respectiuelly, as the feuerall causes shall require, be thought fit to be imposed.



XXXI. *Item*, That euery person or persons whatsoever, which shall at any time or times hereafter, by his or their confession, *or otherwise*, by proof, be conuicted of any of the offences, *by this or any other decree of this court made*, shal before such time as he or they shall be discharged, *and ouer and aboue their fine and punishment, as aforesaid*, be bound with good *sueties*, neuer after to transgresse, or offend in that or the like kinde, for which he or they shall be so conuicted and punished as aforesaid; and that all and euery the forfeitures aforesaid (excepting all seditious schismaticall bookes or pamphlets, *which this court doth hereby order to bee presently burnt*); and except such bookes *as the forfeitures are already granted by letters patents*, shall be diuided and disposed of, *as the high commission court shall find fit* \*. Alwaies prouiding, that *one moitie be to the king*.

XXXII. *Item*, That no merchant, master, or owner, of any ship or vessell, or any other person or persons whatsoever shall hereafter presume to land, or put on shore any booke or bookes, or the part of any booke or books, to be imported from beyond the seas, in any port, hauen, creek, or other place whatsoever within the realme of England, but only in the port of the city of London, to the end the said bookes may there be viewed, as aforesaid: and the seuerall offices of his maiesties ports are hereby required to take notice thereof.

XXXIII. *Item*, That whereas there is an agreement betwixt Sir Thomas Bodley, knight, founder of the vniuersity library at Oxford, and the master, wardens, and assistants of the company of stationers; *viz.* That one booke of euery sort that is new printed, or reprinted with additions, be sent to the vniuersitie of Oxford for the vse of the publique librarie there; the court doth hereby order and declare, That euery printer shall reserue one book new printed, or reprinted by him, with additions, and shall before any publique venting of the said book, bring it to the common hall of the companie of stationers, and deliuer it to the officer thereof, to be sent to the librarie at Oxford accordingly, vpon paine of imprisonment, and such further order and direction therein, as to this court, or the high commission court respectiuelly, as the seuerall causes shall require, shall be thought fit.

P. S. The foregoing Decree is printed according to the copy in Mr. Hollis's possession; and with his notes and marks.

\* Judge then how high the fines.

Charles Say, printer of the Gazetteer, was fined £. 100, by the H. of L. for having published the letter signed *Episcopus* [written, probably, by *Archiepiscopus, Leviathan* himself.]—He was told likewise by them, that he was an old impudent offender, and had recently inserted in that paper, like other printers in their papers, an advertisement relating to A. B's and B's. "which was an affront to that whole bench."

To the Printer of the Gazetteer.

THE spirit and intention of acts of parliament being their true interpretation, how contrary soever the letter may appear, as well as in the case of wills; the dispute between the city and dissenters seems to turn upon this single question: Whether the spirit and intention of the corporation act was not to give all possible encouragement and benefit to church-men, and all possible discouragement, but no sort of benefit whatsoever, to dissenters? and therefore not any exemption from being fined for not serving offices of burden; which would put them, in that respect, on a better foot than church-men, and be a very great encouragement and benefit indeed, by way of contra credit, for depriving them of power and profit. If the history of the times will scarce suffer this to be seriously any question at all, then dissenters cannot claim this benefit under it: But how strong soever the letter may be in declaring the election of them void, the spirit and intention, on the contrary, declares it not void, but valid, as to them, so as to subject them to fine instead of serving in common with their fellow citizens, church-men, even although it renders them incapable of serving; because the act intended them no sort of benefit whatsoever, which a real exemption from fines would most certainly be; just as in the case of the Bishops' act for regulating their leases, for the benefit of their successors, but not for any sort of benefit whatsoever to themselves. How strong soever the letter is in declaring all their other leases absolutely void, yet the spirit and intention, on the contrary, declares them not to be void, but valid, as to the bishops themselves; because the act intended them no sort of benefit whatsoever, which an arbitrary voiding their own leases would most certainly be.

Jan. 26, 1767.

EPISCOPUS.

A Paper, allusive, as supposed, to the foregoing.

To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

*Quid Mithridatem teneat unice*

*Securus.*

HOR.

S I R,

THE liberty of the press, to which we owe, in some measure, the Revolution, has ever been the scourge, and terror of pride and tyranny. When therefore this sacred right is invaded, we may be sure that the political Lent of *forty days* tyranny is not far removed. We may with certainty likewise know, that whenever the attempt is made by an act of power, the unenvied praise of it will be reserved only for the profligate, servile tools of despotism, ambition, and lucre, for men, who are as flagrantly inconsistent with themselves, as they are estranged to the genuine principles of true virtue, liberty, and patriotism.

Having said thus much of the liberty of the press in general, I will now proceed to delineate the characters of *Frothy*, *Pension*, and *Antique*, the three distinguished friends and patrons of this invaluable right.

*Frothy*, who piques himself upon his knowledge of the law without any of it, being naturally violent, set out in life as a republican, but afterwards turned a bigoted confirmed tory, in whom every minister is sure to find an impudent, though odious, supporter of arbitrary measures. *Frothy*, with a barbarous accent, is fond of starting a subject, in order to display his eloquence, especially when it will feed the natural malignity of his heart, and sap the foundations of public liberty. But whenever vanity, and insolence induce him to display his florid impotence, he never fails to remind us of the familiar toad at the ear of Eve, which, according to Pope,

*Half froth, half venom, spits himself abroad.*

*Pension* is an absurd, ridiculous, precise, formal dunce, who having all his life distinguished himself by declaiming against the grant of pensions, at the end of it courted and accepted a large pension, without any merit, either public or private. He had talked much in favour of liberty, but really loved power, and the most violent and arbitrary exercise of it. *Pension* at one time affected a knowledge of the finances, but the attempts at this knowledge served only to render him ridiculous and contemptible, till he was driven to relinquish it.

It remains only to speak of *Antique*, who affects much wit, and a deep knowledge of mathematics and natural philosophy. It is, however, well known, that his talents lie only in low buffoonery, rudeness, and brutality. Whenever he attempts to speak he is so dull and tedious, that his audience immediately wish for night caps. It must be owned, however, that *Antique* has given one extraordinary proof of his abilities, by getting near £.4000 per annum in places, without the least capacity for public business. His figure and manner are indeed truly engaging, and his accent broad Scotch. I am,

Feb. 3, 1767.

Your humble Servant,

PICTOR.

\* \* \* We do not know the above characters delineated by Pictor.

N° XXV.



Another, in favour of restrictions on the prefs, signed *Serious*, and sensibly answered by the proprietors of the paper, and plainly alluding to the censure and fine imposed on Mr. Say.

To the Printer of the Gazetteer.

Feb. 4, 1767.

TO recapitulate the notorious evils that the liberty of the prefs hath involved us in are past enumeration.

It is the beaten path that gradually and gently leads us to destruction. It hath swollen us with arrogance, and made us big in self-conceitedness. And by these means we are privately contemned, despised, and hated, by good and sensible people in every country, where letters are known. It hath not only insulted, but hath almost rooted out religion from among us, by substituting licentiousness for liberty; and now habit hath made us thoughtless of the consequence, and hath insensibly hardened our hearts against conscious virtue; just as much as habit hath insensibly hardened the heart of a Whitechapel butcher, who can skin a living lamb, for sport and diversion;—this is habit; for the innate ideas of the incorrigible, unfeeling wretch were not inferior to a philosopher's; no! nor to a noble peer's; which Mr. Locke has abundantly proved.

The liberty of the prefs subverts justice, by the first impression made on the minds of juries, and may be judges. It deprives us of right reason, by the subtilty of sophism. It provokes malice, and causes discontent. It invents ways and means to throw forth invectives and scandal on our friends, our neighbours, and ourselves, as well as on our enemies. It was the principal and sole cause of raising a ferment in the nation, which rendered the utmost severity of punishment necessary; it precluded clemency.—Mercy is an essential attribute in the Godhead; but was by the Stoicks reckoned baseness in man, because it regardeth not the cause, but the condition.

The liberty of the prefs keeps us in continual fear, and makes us tenacious and opinionative; but the abettors of licentiousness, the admirers of anarchy, and our republicans, will argue otherwise; though you may perceive melancholy in their aspect; they now begin to be sensible of their folly, and are afraid that they cannot resume their element, but must act and think like men who must answer for the deeds done in the body.

Sober-thinking men are afraid that the liberty of the prefs will be continued till it terminate in the total forfeiture of our liberties, civil and religious, as a just punishment from heaven for our impudence, in exalting ourselves above the degree of short-lived rational animals.

The situation of England, together with her other numerous gifts of nature, hath rendered her at all times more conspicuous in improvements than her neighbouring nations; which

which we modestly impute to our own natural pre-eminence and superiority above others; and for these good reasons we adopt but the vanities of other nations, and despise an example of good order and sound policy from them, who are mere tools and slaves, but not in themselves, but in our eyes. These are our notions, and we owe them to the liberty of the press. We wallow in wealth, nay, in superfluity; we are rich in all that nature can bestow, or that art hath brought to perfection; yet we are the most unhappy and dissatisfied people under the canopy of heaven, and consequently guilty of the enormous sin Ingratitude. These great truths bring a heavy charge against our rulers, and are serious subjects for their contemplation.

#### SERIOUS.

THUS far our correspondent—who here avails himself of that very liberty which he so vehemently condemns, and which the most sensible men of this nation esteem as one of the palladiums of British liberty.—We have seldom presumed to enter the lists with any of our correspondents; but this general attack on the liberty of the press (which, if it is degenerated into absolute licentiousness makes us parties therein) is an accusation to which, we think, the duty we owe to ourselves, to our readers, and our country, obliges us to give some answer; and we hope this correspondent, and our readers, will permit us to defend ourselves.—To argue against the use of any thing from its being sometimes abused, is mere sophistry: the same parity of reasoning would interdict the use of food, because there are gluttons; and the use of drink, because there are drunkards. It is well known that every thing may be abused; religion may be perverted into bigotry and superstition; government into tyranny and oppression; law into chicanery, and freedom into anarchy; but the man who would reason from thence that there should be no religion, government, law, or freedom, because they have been sometimes, and may again be, abused, would act so very absurdly as scarce to deserve an answer. If the liberty of the press ever becomes licentiousness, there are sufficient laws in being to curb and punish it; but the whole house need not be destroyed because a chimney smokes sometimes:—though indeed it is much to be wished that a proper line was fixed to divide the one from the other, and ascertain what is, and what is not, the legal and constitutional liberty of the press. For want of this criterion, men are frequently drawn into great inconveniencies, and have *ignorantly*, nay, we may say, *innocently*, incurred the displeasure of their superiors, whom they have not had the most distant intention to offend. To the liberty of the press we owe the most valuable blessings we enjoy, both in church and state. To it we owe the Reformation and the Revolution. To it, we owe, that we are not the spiritless slaves which we see some of other nations are. To it, the prince and the minister owe that necessary information of the wants, hopes, and fears of a people. Without it, the sovereign may be told *all is well*, when his subjects are oppressed in the most grievous degree. Without it, we should be tortured on the rack, and forbidden to utter one groan. Without it, we should be subject to every wrong, every oppression; and not being able to vent or utter our griefs, they would rankle in the breast till they burst out into flames. The gentleman says, “Our liberty of the press has made us  
“ despised

“despised and hated by the good and sensible people in every country where letters are “known.” That gentleman surely is mistaken in his phrase, and means that we are *envied* by them. In other countries, where news-papers cannot be printed without being first perused by a minister, can we expect truth in them? Are not the people lulled into a security by such opiates? For we have known when bonfires have been made and Te Deum sung in Paris, as for a victory, though they have been defeated. In other countries, where not even a shop-bill or advertisement can be printed without an *imprimatur*, can we suppose they *despise* us for the liberty we enjoy, or that they do not *envy* it? This gentleman says, “the “liberty of the press subverts justice, by prejudicing the minds of juries, &c.”—They must be very weak men indeed who are thus prejudiced, and totally unfit to decide between man and man. Does not every juryman swear to try according to the *evidence* produced? How then can any honest thinking man dare to judge from *any thing else*? This liberty, he says, “was the *principal* and *sole* cause of the late riots.” How can this be? can a *principal* cause be the *sole* cause? Whatever is called *principal*, we conceive to mean the chief or most prevailing of any other; and there must be *other* causes in the train to make *any one* the principal; so he confounds terms together: and we cannot think the liberty of the press was either the *sole* or the *principal* cause of them. The first cause was certainly *distress*; that produced *discontent*; and we much doubt, whether one in ten of these rioters was able to read. It has been remarked by some judicious writers, that none have been ever so strenuous against the liberty of the press as those who have been afraid that their vices, their follies, their injustice, mis-deeds and oppressions, would be thereby laid open; and that observation holds good in the general. Those who would correct the *licentiousness* of the press may be *good* men; but those who would entirely destroy its *liberty*, and subject it to a licenser, are demonstrably *bad men*. We plead only for the liberty—not the abuse of it. We have frequently entreated our correspondents, in their discussion of any point, to avoid personal reflections, and we have frequently dismissed letters of that tendency. If any such have been admitted, it was unwittingly, and entirely owing to that fallibility of judgment inherent in man; for we can truly say, that though we may have sometimes given offence, that offence was not intentional; as we could not imagine that discussing *measures*, in which every individual was concerned, could be *blamable*, while the *private characters* of those who planned them, as men, were unattacked.



## On the Swedish Edict, concerning the Liberty of the Press.

Supposed to have been inserted by Mr. HOLLIS himself.

THE new Edict, published at Stockholm, for enlarging the Liberty of the press, consists of the following clauses: That every person shall have permission to write and reason on all subjects in general; on all the laws of the kingdom, with respect to their utility or bad effects; on all alliances in which the kingdom is engaged, whether long subsisting or modern, with foreign powers; on their good or ill effects; on propositions that shall hereafter be made for concluding new ones, and on the publication of the alliances themselves, the secret articles alone excepted. Liberty is granted by this edict to treat of the situation of affairs in other nations, their political constitutions, their internal police, their trade, their strength or weakness. The character and manners of any people may be described; their progress, their errors, and their vices, may be examined; and comparisons, in relation to Sweden, may be drawn. The edict allows every person to demand of all the colleges established for the administration of public business, from the senate to the courts of the smallest jurisdiction, a communication of their registers or journals, wherein the decision of causes is entered, and oblige them to print the same, either entire or by abridgment, together with the opinion which each person delivered in the debate, and in particular the decision of the judges; and if any person shall refuse to communicate such registers, or journals, he shall be put out of his place. The senate alone is to have the exclusive privilege of not communicating those debates concerning foreign affairs, which it is expedient should be kept secret for some time. During the session of the dyet, every person is to have liberty to make observations on the debates and resolutions of each deputation of the states, concerning any business, whether general or particular, except such as concerns the administration of government; and to print any such debate. In consequence whereof, the King, before the calling of any dyet, is to give orders for making out, from the journals of the colleges, and other departments of the public administration, an exact account of the situation of the state in every part, and to cause such account to be printed. This edict, while it gives full liberty for writing any remarks on the Swedish history, antient or modern, and for publishing any memoirs or anecdotes concerning foreign countries, forbids the publication of any thing against the established religion of Sweden, or the fundamental political constitution, or the rights and privileges of the different orders of the state. Personal satires and pasquinades, contrary to the respect which is due to crowned heads, or injurious to the reputation of private persons, are likewise forbidden by this ordinance. [Let the brave worthy Swedes read the *Areopagitica*, or speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing of John Milton—and get franker.]

Extract of a letter from Mr. Berch of Stockholm, dated March 31, 1769,  
to Mr. Valtravers, at Hammerfinith.

POUR PINGO j'en fais beaucoup de cas. Il a eu le bonheur de travailler dans une époque bien brillante pour la nation, pendant la dernière guerre : encore d'exécuter des idées sages. Messieurs les François ne pourront plus se prévaloir de leurs médailles, comme des seules noblement inventées. Que je souhaite qu'on supprimât ces plattitudes de Birmingham qui font deshonneur au goût du pays, tant par les devises que par la gravure. Il m'est venu une médaille sur ce turbulent John Wilkes. La physionomie de l'original, et la main de l'ouvrier sont faites l'une pour l'autre : c'est dommage qu'on abuse pour un boute-feux, et le rebut d'un respectable parlement, le sacré nom de *genius of liberty*.

Nous avons retrouvé un jeune Suedois, nommé Liungberger, qui a voyagé en France et Italie, et fait des médailles admirables, fierement dessinées et exécutées avec délicatesse. Pendant son séjour en Italie, il fut mené dans les meilleurs cabinets et Ateliers par le malheureux abbé Winckelmann, et en France, par feu le Comte Caylus. Dans ce dernier pays, il modela aussi le portrait de votre illustre Monsieur Hume. Tous ceux qui ont eu l'avantage de le connaître personnellement disent, que c'est parlant.

Que n'ai je pas le plaisir de connaître aussi en effigie, votre ami, *The citizen of the world*, qui, par votre canal, Monsieur, m'a comblé de politesses. En reconnaissance, lors qu'on imprima l'année passée le catalogue du petit cabinet des livres, que notre Académie des Sciences possède, j'eus soin qu'on n'omit pas, parmi les Bienfaiteurs, un *Anonyme Anglois*, d'un caractère bien rare et estimable, à ne pas tirer vanité de ses présents. Mr. Le Comte Caylus l'avoit admiré avant moi, dans un de ses derniers volumes. *The Monthly Review* nomme quelque part un homme à qui je suppose qu'il ressemble. Le sort de psyché arrête ma curiosité.

Seroit ce bien pour le Museum Britannicum, ou pour quelque particulier, qu'on marchandât le fameux cabinet de Monsieur Poulhariés à Marseille. Tout va donc en Angleterre, et le jour viendra, qu'on n'ira plus à Rome, mais à Londres, pour satisfaire la curiosité.

Apostile. J'ai reconnu votre main sur l'enveloppe d'un petit imprimé qui m'est venu, ou il est fait mention des deux médailles suédoises sur l'émeute de 1756, et de la dernière déclaration de notre Bourgue Maître. Ce morceau fait-il partie de quelque journal politique ? [A letter inserted in the L. C. Jan. 21, 1769, signed SVVM CVIQVE.] Messieurs les Anglois prennent donc pour un grand phénomène, qu'il se trouve hors de leur Ile des Citoyens, qui osent dire hardiment leurs sentiments !

Mem. The *question* inserted in the L. C. Feb. 7, 1769.

## A Letter mentioned by Mr. Berch in the preceding Letter.

For the London Chronicle.

“WHO among us,” wrote an anonymous person in the Public Advertiser, Aug. 13, 1756, hath lost a night’s rest or a meal’s meat, for the court plot for overturning the civil constitution of Sueden, which, by some unlucky accident miscarried the other day? If one impertinent corporal, a cobbler by trade, had, by any pious hand, been stabbed or strangled, and a few fatal hours silently revolved; the righteous king of Sueden, by making himself, instead of an elective limited monarch, a despotic tyrant, with a divine hereditary right, had freed his people of the intolerable burthen of assemblies of the states, diets, senates, and disburthened them as effectually of all notions of freedom and rights, as his worthy brother of Denmark had before him eased his vassals”——

The Suedish exiles for that plot, having been permitted to return to Sueden in the year 1765, and all remembrance of the plot being now, probably, stifled there; it may not be improper, for information of the ingenuous and preservation of the fact, to give some account of *two medals*, which were stricken by order of the senate of Sueden, on their deliverance from that plot, especially, as, it is probable, the dies of them, with most of the medals which were stricken from those dies that were in Sueden, are at this time destroyed.

1. The figure of Liberty, with her cap and wand, resting upon a column, on which are placed the charters of Sueden, and pointing to this inscription, *Libertas manens*.

Reverse. *Deo O. M. Averrunco malorum Sueciae, Grates Publicae cum Supplicationibus Anniversariis, indictae, 1756.*

2. The sign Cancer. Inscription, *Retrogradus*. In the Exergue, *Seditioforum Conatus*.

Reverse. *Junius mensis vergens, Suecis saepe faustus, ex decreto Ord. Regn. ab A. 1756, semper festus esto.*

The diameter of the first medal is three inches; of the second, one inch and three eighths.

To shew further the turn and spirit of that Suedish senate, I shall, likewise, give an extract from their Journal of Nov. 7, 1755, as it appeared not long after in an English translation, “No free people ever yet existed, that left its fate to the conscience of a Ruler; and, “with us it is a maxim, that the kingdom shall be ruled, not by the king’s conscience, but “by the known laws.”

One *Abdiel*, “faithful only he,” hath, it seems, been found in Sueden at this time, *SEBALD*, the Burgomaster of Stockholm, who, upon the present trying occasion there, hath had firmness to declare, “that he dissented from his colleagues, because he deemed the proceedings “of the king to be contrary to the form of government.”

Praise him, ye assertors of liberty, throughout all countries; nor omit the memory of him, for example, in your festivals.

London, Jan. 28, 1769.

SVVM CVIQVE.

N°



List of Books for the use of the Swedes ; published by Mr. HOLLIS,  
in 1772, the year of the last Revolution in that country.

I. "A short treatise of politike pouuer ; and of the true obedience which subiectes owe  
"to Kynges and other civil governours. Compiled by D. I. P. B. R. W." [i. e. Dr. John  
Ponnet, Bishop, Rochester, Winchester.] Printed 1556, and again 1642, to serve the cause  
of libertie and the parliament.

II. "How superior powers ought to be obeyed of their subiectes, and wherein they may  
"lawfully by GOD's worde be disobeyed and resisted. By Christopher Goodman." Printed,  
Geneva, 1558, in duod.

III. "Vindiciae contra Tyrannos. Sive, de Principis in Populum, Populique in Princi-  
"pem legitima Potestate. Stephano Junio Bruto, Celta, Auctore." Supposed to have been  
written by Theodore Beza, or *Hubert Languet*. Printed, Edinburgh, 1579, in octavo.

IIII. "De Jure Regni apud Scotos, Dialogus." Written by George Buchanan—the first  
of all Scottishmen. Printed in the same place and year with the "Vindiciae," *cum privilegio  
regali*, in quarto.

V. "Franco-Gallia." Shewing the origin of the free-governments of Europe ; and of the  
French-government in particular, *with the abuse of it*. By Francis Hottoman.

This very learned treatise was translated from the Latin into English, by Mr. Moleworth,  
during the latter and *doubtful* part of the reign of Queen Anne, and an *excellent* preface was  
written by him for it ; but the preface did not appear till after the death of the Queen, and  
the elevation of that just and beneficent prince King George I.

VI. "Areopagitica. A Speech for the libertie of *unlicensed* printing. Addressed to the  
"Parliament of England."

VII. "The tenure of kings and magistrates. Prouing, that it is lawful, and hath been  
"held so, through all ages, for any who have power, to call to account a tyrant or wicked  
"king ; and, after due conviction, to depose and put him to death, if the ordinary magis-  
"trate have neglected or denied to do it," &c.

VIII. "Defensio pro Populo Anglicano." Or a defence of the People of England, against  
Claudius Salmasius, his defence of King Charles I.

The three last tracts were written by John Milton, and may be met with separate, or col-  
lected in his prose-works.

IX. "The Oceana." By James Harrington. Printed, London, 1656, in thin folio, and  
often since with his works.

X. "The Excellencie of a Free State." By Marchamont Nedham. Printed, London,  
1656 ; and again, lately, in octavo.

XI. "Two Treatises of Government." By John Locke. Shewing the nature and *end* of Civil Government. Written in behalf of Liberty and the Revolution. Motto to the "Two Treatises," *Salus Populi suprema lex esto!*

XII. "An Account of Denmark"—with some pieces, of late years, not unfrequently bound with it. Written by Mr. Moleſworth, created afterward Lord Moleſworth, who went Envoy from King William III. to the court of Denmark.

The Preface to the "Account" is an *admirable* one!

XIII. "A short History of Standing Armies in England." By John Trenchard—the last great Englishman!

Of the above noticed books, it should seem, the fifth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, are particularly expedient to be translated into Suedish, *at this time*; and, it is probable, they will, by some among the bands of nobles, clergy, lawyers, or others, of that free renowned country, who, knowing well the *Rights of Human-nature*, and *their own Rights*, prize them above all things.

C O S M O P.

In England, under Liberty, Oct. 5, 1772.

- - - - - *this I hold firm,*  
*Virtue may be assail'd, but never hurt,*  
*Surpriz'd by unjust force, but not enthrall'd;*  
*Yea, even that, which mischief meant most harm,*  
*Shall, in the happy trial, prove most glory:*  
*But evil on itself shall back recoil,*  
*&c. &c. &c.*

"MASK," of J. M.

## A Paper relating to the Colonies.

IF any man doubts of the evils that arise to a state from granting vast tracts of land to individuals, let him only think of Russia and Poland, where the people, having no property in the lands, are absolutely slaves: or of Germany, France, and Denmark, where they are in the lowest state of vassalage to their lords, who permit them just to exist.

Unhappily for England, William the Conqueror seized upon and granted the lands to his favourites and followers, in the descendants of whose hands great part of it remains to this day, such only excepted as belonged to the church; great part of which, at the Reformation, Harry the Eighth confiscated, and which he gave to the nobles; leaving however some in the hands of the clergy. From these and other causes, the titles and tenors of lands are very perplexed. We have freehold, copyhold, leasehold, college-lands, church-land: some are held by lives, others pay fines, &c. But very few hold a spot absolutely free and independant; and therefore the people must ever remain poor whilst their landlords are princes. Those evils have been long seen and felt, but never reformed.

But when the people who were persecuted in this country fled to New England, they run the three colonies of Boston, Connecticut, and Rhode-Island, out into lots of ten miles square; these they called Townships, and granted them to forty or fifty persons jointly, their heirs and assigns, for ever, and obliged them in seven years to build a church and school: Those settlers subdivided to their children, and they again to their's; so that every man in those colonies is a freeholder, and thereby actually enjoys more liberty than any people in Europe or America: the colony is also better cultivated, and infinitely more populous than any other of our colonies.

But in the very next colony to these, I mean New-York, the case is very different; for there many enormous grants were made by the crown to individuals, of 20 miles square: these are not one fourth part settled at this time, and such people who are seated on those lands are all tenants at will. New Jersey was disposed of much in the same manner, and therefore endless perplexities and law-suits. As to Pennsylvania, it is, perhaps, the most enormous grant that was ever made to a subject, and where millions of acres pay a quit-rent to the sole proprietor. But the people of Maryland are all vassals. In Virginia, North and South Carolina, as also Georgia, are many immense grants to individuals, and therefore the latter three colonies are very thinly inhabited, whilst New England has several hundred as fine towns as any in England, and their lands carried to the highest cultivation, because they are freeholders. Nor do I think there is a man in those colonies of £. 500. a year; nor are there any without some share in the soil, and therefore no slaves, vassals, or beggars; and on their example, it is said, Lord Egmont's petition for the whole island of St. John's, for himself and family, was justly rejected.

But



But notwithstanding we have the amazing progress and population of New England before our eyes, and which was effected without the aid or succour of Great Britain of half a crown, whilst the greater part of the southern colonies, who have cost this kingdom several hundred thousand pounds, remain a desert; I say, notwithstanding this, we are pursuing that method in Canada, East and West Florida, which tends to discourage population; I mean, by granting enormous tracts of land to favourites and their favourites, who never intend to see that country, but who, perhaps, will obtain votes for immense sums from this nation to encourage and improve their lands; but even in that they will be disappointed; for such public money has been, and may be again, misapplied.

The only right method, Sir, to settle these immense forests is by adopting the plan of New England; I mean, by comprehending great numbers of persons in every grant made out to them, their heirs and assigns, for ever, and to be tied down to apply to the settlement of such grant in a given time, or to be vacated: by this means there will be but one tenor freehold, and that alone will inspire the planter with industry, without any succour from the public, and we should soon see those regions as populous as New England.

I am, yours, &c.

Jan. 23, 1767.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

N° XXXI.

Trenchard's Paper on the Colonies, republished from Cato's letter, dated Dec. 8, 1722, in the St. James's Chronicle, Oct. 1765, by Mr. HOLLIS's means.

*We have been desired, in the present melancholy situation of affairs with respect to the American Colonies and the Mother-Country, to republish the following letter, written by that excellent Englishman John Trenchard, Esq. And God direct a happy issue!*

SIR,

Saturday, Dec. 8, 1722.

I INTEND, in this letter, to give my opinion about plantations; a subject which seems to me to be understood but by few, and little use is made of it where it is. It is most certain, that the riches of a nation consist in the number of its inhabitants, when those inhabitants are usefully employed, and no more of them live upon the industry of others (like drones in a hive) than are necessary to preserve the œconomy of the whole: for the rest, such as gamblers, cheats, thieves, sharpers, and abby-lubbers, with some of their betters, waste and destroy the public wealth, without adding any thing to it. Therefore, if any nation drive, either by violence, or by ill usage and distress, any of its subjects out of their country, or

send any of them out in foolish wars, or useless expeditions, or for any other causes, which do not return more advantage than bring loss, they so far enervate their state, and let out part of their best heart's blood.

Now, in many instances, men add more to the public stock by being out of their country than in it; as ambassadors, public ministers, and their retinues, who transact the affairs of a nation; merchants and tradesmen, who carry on its traffick; soldiers in necessary wars; and sometimes travellers, who teach us the customs, manners, and politicks, of distant countries, whereby we may regulate and improve our own. All, or most of these, return to us again with advantage. But, in other instances, a man leaves his country, never, or very rarely, to return again; and then the state will suffer loss, if the person so leaving it be not employed abroad in such industry, in raising such commodities, or in performing such services, as will return more benefit to his native country, than they suffer prejudice by losing a useful member.

This is often done by planting colonies, which are of two sorts; one to keep conquered countries in subjection, and to prevent the necessity of constant standing-armies; a policy which the Romans practised, till their conquests grew too numerous, the conquered countries too distant, and their empire too unweildy to be managed by their native force only; and then they became the slaves of those whom they conquered. This policy, for many ages, we ourselves used in Ireland, till the fashion of our neighbours, and the wisdom of modern ages, taught us the use of armies: and I wish that those who come after us may never learn all their uses. I must confess, that I am not wise enough to enter into all the policy made use of formerly in governing that country, and shall, in proper time, communicate my doubts, in hopes to receive better information. In the mean time, I cannot but persuade myself, that when our superiors are at leisure from greater affairs, it may be possible to offer them a proposition more honourable to the crown, more advantageous to each kingdom, and to the particular members of them, and vastly more conducive to the power of the whole British empire, than the doubtful state which they are now in. But as this is not the purpose of my present letter, I shall proceed to consider the nature of the other sort of Colonies.

The other sort of Colonies are for trade, and intended to increase the wealth and power of the native kingdom; which they will abundantly do, if managed prudently, and put and kept under a proper regulation. No nation has, or ever had, all the materials of commerce within itself: no climate produces all commodities; and yet it is the interest, pleasure, or convenience of every people, to use or trade in most or all of them; and rather to raise them themselves, than to purchase them from others, unless in some instances, when they change their own commodities for them, and employ as many or more people at home, in that exchange, such as would lose their employment by purchasing them from abroad. Now, colonies planted in proper climates, and kept to their proper business, undoubtedly do this; and particularly many of our own colonies in the West Indies employ ten times their own number in Old England, by sending them from hence provisions, manufactures, utensils for themselves

themselves and their slaves, by navigation, working up the commodities that they send us, by retaining and exporting them afterwards, and in returning again to us silver and gold, and materials for new manufactures; and our northern colonies do, or may, if encouraged, supply us with timber, hemp, iron, and other metals, and, indeed, with most or all the materials of navigation, and our neighbours too, through our hands; and by that means settle a solid naval power in Great Britain, not precarious, and subject to disappointments, and the caprices of our neighbours; which management would make us soon masters of most of the trade of the world.

I would not suggest so distant a thought, as that any of our colonies, when they grow stronger, should ever attempt to wean themselves from us; however, I think too much care cannot be taken to prevent it, and to preserve their dependencies upon their mother-country. It is not to be hoped, in the corrupt state of human nature, that any nation will be subject to another any longer than it finds its own account in it, and cannot help itself. Every man's first thought will be for himself and his own interest, and he will not be long to seek for arguments to justify his being so when he knows how to attain what he proposes. Men will think it hard to work, toil, and run hazards, for the advantage of others, any longer than they find their own interest in it, and especially for those who use them ill: All nature points out that course. No creatures suck the teats of their dams longer than they can draw milk from thence, or can provide themselves with better food: Nor will any country continue their subjection to another, only because their great grand-mothers were acquainted.

This is the course of human affairs; and all wise states will always have it before their eyes. They will well consider, therefore, how to preserve the advantages arising from colonies, and avoid the evils. And I conceive, that there can be but two ways in nature to hinder them from throwing off their dependance; one to keep it out of their power, and the other out of their will. The first must be by force; and the latter by using them well, and keeping them employed in such productions, and making such manufactures, as will support themselves and families comfortably, and procure them wealth too, or, at least, not prejudice their mother-country.

Force can never be used effectually to answer the end, without destroying the Colonies themselves. Liberty and encouragement are necessary to carry people thither, and to keep them together when they are there; and violence will hinder both. Any body of troops considerable enough to awe them, and keep them in subjection, under the direction too of a needy governor, often sent thither to make his fortune, and at such a distance from any application for redress, will soon put an end to all planting, and leave the country to the soldiers alone; and, if it did not, would eat up all the profit of the colony: for this reason, arbitrary countries have not been equally successful in planting colonies, with free ones; and what they have done in that kind has either been by force at a vast expence, or by departing from the nature of their government, and giving such privileges to planters as were denied to their other subjects. And I dare say that a few prudent laws, and a little prudent



prudent conduct, would soon give us far the greatest share of the riches of all America, perhaps drive many of other nations out of it, or into our colonies for shelter.

If violence, or methods tending to violence, be not used to prevent it, our northern colonies must constantly increase in people, wealth, and power. Men living in healthy climates, paying easy or no taxes, not molested with wars, must vastly increase by natural generation; besides that vast numbers every day flow thither from our own dominions, and from other parts of Europe, because they have there ready employment, and lands given to them for tilling; insomuch that I am told they have doubled their inhabitants since the Revolution, and in less than a century must become powerful states; and the more powerful they grow, still the more people will flock thither. And there are so many exigencies in all states, so many foreign wars and domestic disturbances, that these colonies can never want opportunities, if they watch for them, to do what they shall find their interest to do; and therefore we ought to take all the precautions in our power, that it shall never be their interest to act against that of their native country; an evil which can no otherwise be averted than by keeping them fully employed in such trades as will increase their own, as well as our wealth; for it is much to be feared, if we do not find employment for them, they may find it for us.

No two nations, no two bodies of men, or scarce two single men, can long continue in friendship without having some cement of their union; and where relation, acquaintance, or mutual pleasures are wanting, mutual interests alone can bind it: But when those interests separate, each side must assuredly pursue their own. The interest of colonies is often to gain independency; and is always so when they no longer want protection, and when they can employ themselves more advantageously than in supplying materials of traffick to others: and the interest of the mother-country is always to keep them dependent, and so employed; and it requires all their address to do it; and it is certainly more easily and effectually done by gentle and insensible methods, than by power alone.

Men will always think that they have a right to air, earth, and water, a right to employ themselves for their own support, to live by their own labours, to apply the gifts of God to their own benefit; and in order to it, to make the best of their soil, and to work up their own product: and when this cannot be done without detriment to their mother-country, there can be but one fair, honest, and indeed effectual way, to prevent it, which is, to divert them upon other employments, as advantageous to themselves, and more so to their employers; that is, in raising such growth, and making such manufactures as will not prejudice their own, or at least in no degree equal to the advantage which they bring: and when such commodities are raised or made, they ought to be taken off their hands, and the people ought not to be forced to find out other markets by stealth, or to throw themselves upon new protectors. Whilst people have full employment, and can maintain themselves comfortably in a way which they have been used to, they will never seek after a new one, especially when they meet encouragement in one, and are discountenanced in the other.

As without this conduct, colonies must be mischievous to their mother-country for the reasons before given, so with it the greatest part of the wealth which they acquire centers

there; for all their productions are so many augmentations of our power and riches, as they are returns of the people's labour, the rewards of merchants, or increase of navigation; without which, all who are sent abroad are a dead loss to their country, and as useless as if really dead, and worse than so, if they become enemies; for we can send no commodities to them, unless they have others to exchange for them, and such as we find our interest in taking.

As to our Southern Plantations, we are, in this respect, upon a tolerable foot already; for the productions there are of so different a nature from our own, that they can never interfere with us; and the climates are so unhealthy, that no more people will go or continue there, than are necessary to raise the commodities which we want, and consequently they can never be dangerous to us. But our Northern Colonies are healthy climates, and can raise all or most of the commodities which our own country produces. They constantly increase in people, and will constantly increase; and without the former precautions, must, by the natural course of human affairs, interfere with most branches of our trade, work up our best manufactures, and at last grow too powerful and unruly to be governed for our interest only: and therefore, since the way lies open to us, to prevent so much mischief, to do so much good, and add so much wealth and power to Great Britain, by making those countries the magazines of our naval stores, I hope we shall not lose all these advantages, in compliment to the interests of a few private gentlemen, or even to a few counties. I am, &c.

## N° XXXII.

## Paper about eating the King's bread.

To the Printer of the Gazetteer.

S I R,

OF the officers of the fleet and army, ninety-nine in a hundred will tell you they serve the king, and eat the king's bread. A few days ago an officer of high rank, and a member of parliament, upon my asking how he had divided, told me, with the majority; adding, for how could I, who eat the king's bread, oppose the king's measures? I have been many years an officer, but never once thought I served the king only, or that I was myself indebted to majesty for a morsel of the bread I eat. Fleets and armies begin and end in parliament, are kept up by a yearly vote in parliament, and supplies are raised by parliament upon the public for their yearly subsistence. Payed by the public, I conclude myself the servant of the public. The king himself, if I am not mistaken, is minister publicus, a servant, or rather magistrate, of the whole community. He is made by them and for them; he reigns for their good; from them he receives his subsistence (the civil list); and all the powers or prerogatives of the crown are held for the common service; and, our history shews, from abuse, are all forfeitable, and have been forfeited.

A people

A people indeed who know their true interest will not rashly or unadvisedly make alterations in the regal, or in any part of the political system; but no right or privilege of the crown can ever be pleaded in opposition to what is for the good of the whole community. The safety of the republic is, and ever ought to be, the supreme law. Prerogative is no more than a power lodged in the hands of the king for the good of the people. It can therefore be no shadow of objection to any necessary political measure, that it would infringe or break in upon the royal prerogative; for the prerogative has been often curtailed and enlarged. Here, as in every thing else, the lesser must give way to the greater, the means to the end. The subject is important, and cannot be easily understood. Let me illustrate it by example. The power of making peace and war is (and perhaps for very good reasons too) lodged in the crown. But let there be an improper exertion of either; let a king wantonly, and of himself, engage the nation in a ruinous war, or with the same levity himself conclude an ignominious peace, who so stupid as not to see the propriety, or to dispute the right, of depriving him of that privilege, and thereby alter the course of proceeding? Apply the same reasoning to the prerogatives of pardoning offenders, and of granting of honours. Without one favourable circumstance or reasonable claim to mercy, pardons ought not to be granted to criminals legally and justly condemned; nor should titles and honours be prostituted to the worthless and abandoned. Should this ever hereafter happen (for which, under the reign of our present sovereign, whom God long preserve, there can be no danger) who can doubt what would be, what should be the consequence? That prerogative would undoubtedly be lopped off. "It is not, says Montesquieu, for the sake of the reigning family, that the order of succession is established, but because it is for the interest of the state, that there be a reigning family. The law which regulates the succession of individuals is a civil law which has the interest of individuals for its object. That which regulates the succession of monarchies, has for its object the good and preservation of societies." "When the political law, which has established in the state a certain order of succession, becomes destructive, there is no doubt but another politic law may change that order; and this second law, far from being contradictory to the first, is fundamentally the same, since both depend upon the same principle, The safety of the people is the supreme law."

As politics are now the constant topic in every company, these first principles of government, it might be expected, were generally understood. But understood they are not, their contraries being but too frequently adopted. In a country of liberty many still adopt not the language only, but the sentiments, of slaves. Whether the language even of parliament always agrees with the constitution might perhaps be doubted. This however I think is certain: The difference of British and French governments is not to be discovered in addresses to the throne, or in the ceremonial of their courts. In some points we have outdone the French. "The kings of Britain," says Voltaire, "are served upon the knee, which seems to clash with the high spirit of that nation. Content with real power, the kings of France have refused to accept of this external shew."



What the constitution of England was before the Revolution may perhaps be difficult to determine; like all other governments, probably made up of too many absurdities and contradictions.

That there was much servility in it appears but too evidently from the ceremonial of the coronation of their kings, in which there was too much of abject servility mixed with the worst of religious superstition; a kind of superstition introduced to enslave the minds as well as the bodies of men. "Pope Stephen the Third," says Voltaire, "called Pepin to his assistance, forged a letter from heaven to Pepin and his son, and in the church of St. Dennis gave the royal unction to Pepin the first anointed king (though at the same time an usurper) in Europe, and forbid the French, under the penalty of excommunication, to elect a king of another family." By virtue of which Hocus Pocus every tyrant became decreed by the Popish church the Lord's anointed, the vicegerent of the Almighty, and eternal damnation was intailed upon the slave who durst say, what dost thou? Though future popes have, for their own ends, occasionally undertaken to unking them, and have absolved all their subjects for rebellion; the fashion was too good not to spread, and in the fulness of time, the English had their Lord's anointed as well as their neighbours. The idol, it is true, is now removed; but part of the worship still remains. "Though our kings can no longer impose upon us with a light from heaven, but are modestly content to hold their crown from the people, from whom they so lately received it, yet the forms of slavery, it must be owned, all remain."

"It may happen (says Montesquieu, speaking of the British government) "That that nation having been formerly subject to arbitrary power shall, on many occasions, have preserved their old stile, so that upon the foundation of a free government we frequently see the forms of an absolute government."

Notwithstanding our claim and declaration of rights, we have still our court of claims. See all our nobles begging to be slaves, ignorantly and meanly proud of the most servile offices; here we see them fondly claim what sense and sentiment would teach them nobly to disclaim. In full possession of liberty, we have not yet the sentiments, the language, or the manners of free men. Subjects of the laws, we forget we are the makers of kings, themselves subject to the laws. In other monarchies, the political maxim may be *Pro Rege Populus*, The people is made for the king. With us its opposite is immoveably fixed, *Pro Populo Rex*, The king is made for the people. The British, different from every other monarchy, has liberty for its end, says Montesquieu. He calls it a republic concealed under the form of monarchy.

Blessed with a government peculiar to ourselves, why do we still preserve the forms, the stile of others, and those not the best? They lead to their sentiments. No longer vassals and slaves, why still preserve the marks of bondage? The coronation of our kings does not, I believe, answer one legal purpose; he is, to all intents, as much a king before as after; why therefore it may be asked, this immense apparatus for a scene in many of its parts disgraceful to humanity?

## N° XXXIII.

A Letter from Mr. HOLLIS to the Printer of the London Chronicle.

S I R,

AT the north-west corner of the parade in St. James's Park stands a cannon, called, it seems emphatically, THE GUN.

It was cast in the year 1638, and carries this *signal* inscription,

*Carolus Edgari sceptrum stabilivit aquarum.*

The inscription alludes, manifestly, to the Mare Clausum of that MASTER Antiquarie John Selden.

So chary was Charles of this his *Dominion of the Seas*, that he likewise caused several medals to be struck in honour of it, which are yet to be seen in the cabinets of the curious; and it is probable he would otherwise have asserted his right to it, had his reign been less disturbed and unhappy.

O that this cannon, this GUN, were crowned with garlands on the anniversary of our king, and placed on the terrasse of his palace, amidst the shoutings of our sailors and our soldiers, brethren, gallant above all other, to announce forth his praises for ever! I am,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

1764.

PATINA ANTIQUARIOR.

## N° XXXIV.

Another Letter by Mr. HOLLIS to the Printer of the London Chronicle.

S I R,

IN the library of the late learned and excellent Dr. Leatherland, Physician to the Queen, (whose election to that office did honor to a minister of high rank and a celebrated physician of this city) now on view for sale at Mr. Samuel Baker's, bookseller in York-street, Covent-garden, day 18, lot 2844, is a quarto volume of mixed tracts, which were published during the civil wars.

On a leaf prefixed to that volume, appear the following lines, *written* by Charles I. and *signed* by that king.

"*The collection of all the particular papers and passages between me and the English RE-BELLES, in the two last treatys.*"

"*I labour for peace, but when I speak to THEM thereof they make them ready to battel.*"

" C. R."

And,

And, which is extremely remarkable, there likewise appears a winding line, drawn by the same hand, that begins at the word THEM, turns back, and ends at the word REBELLES.

On this occasion, I shall lay before the public, with your leave, a few extracts, of many that might be produced, which, it is apprehended, will shew the *real* character of that prince; premising this anecdote to them.

James VI. of Scotland and I. of England, not having then forgotten wholly the precepts of his tutor George Buchanan, the noblest of all Scottishmen, caused certain gold coins, called six pound pieces, current in England for ten shillings, and certain other gold coins, called three pound pieces, to be stricken in Scotland, during the years 1601, 2, 3, 4; which coins bore this motto on their reverse, SALVS POPVLI SVPREMA LEX [ESTO], taken, as you know, from a work of one of the most accomplished excellent men of all antiquity, who bore testimony to the truth of it with his blood, Marcus Tullius Cicero.

Charles I. his son, not affecting that motto, *quibbled* with it, repeatedly, on his coins, on his forty penie piece Scottish, struck 1625, on two (as is thought, proof) pieces for a quarter shilling, English, stricken 1634, and altered it in the following manner, SALVS REIPVBLICAE SVPREMA LEX [ESTO]; with what effect as to his conduct, the parliament of Nov. 3, 1640, that opposed and mastered him; to the influence of whose divine spirit we are indebted even for the Revolution and the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover, hath, at large, shewn us. I am,

S I R,

March 7, 1765,

Your most humble servant,

PATINA ANTIQVARIOR.

“ — but bycause 135 [Northumberland] was desirous to discover how 102 [King] stood  
 “ inclined towards 110 [Leycester] he took an occasion to speake unto him of 121 [Winde-  
 “ banke’s] place. He answered, that 110 [Leycester] was to greate for that place, and  
 “ that he intended not to have any of that qualitie; but when 135 [Northumberland, Ad-  
 “ miral] came to debate that point with him, he could give no other reason, but that it was  
 “ a rule he had set to himselfe which he resolved not to alter. 135 replied, that he did  
 “ not fixe upon that place only for 110 [Leycester] but that it was probable some others  
 “ would shortly be voide, which 102 [King] might think more suteable to his qualitie and  
 “ merite; that he would then be pleased, rather to preferre a well-deserving servant, who  
 “ hath taken paines, and spent some years in his imployments, then one that is a meere  
 “ strainger to him. To this, my thought, 102 [King] made a very colde returne; but af-  
 “ fure yourfelfe 135 [Admiral] will not give it over, though it happens a little unluckely,  
 “ for at this time, I doubt, 102 is not very well satisfied with 135, bycause he will not

P E R I V R E

H I M S E L F E F O R

“ 40 97 19 84 65 85 53 21 68 39 58 96 89 76 80 22 14 8 13 45 70 82 94 115 [Lord  
 “ Lieutenant Strafford, &c.]

Extract of a Letter from Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, to Robert Sydney, Earl of Leycester; dated London, Dec. 10, 1640: taken from the Sydney State Papers, printed, London, 1746, in 2 vol. folio.

It



It is evident, that he plaid *fast and loose* on all hands, as best suited with his necessary affairs and worke, as he calls it, all his ends tending to this only centre, to gaine the Irish Rebels to his assistance against the parliament at any rate, though to the prophanation of religion, and his breach of faith with God and man ; as instantly you may see fearfully protested, at the receiving the sacrament at Christ Church in Oxford, 1643, at the hands of the Archbishop of Armagh [Usher] where, immediately before his communicating, he, beckoning to the Archbishop for a short forbearance, used these following expressions, viz. *My Lord, I espie here many resolved Protestants, who may declare to the world the resolution I do now make. I have, to the utmost of my power, prepared my soule to become a worthy receiver ; and may I so receive comfort by the blessed sacrament, as I do intend the establishment of the true reformed religion, as it stood in its beauty in the happy dayes of Queen Elizabeth, without any connivance at Popery. I blesse God, that in the midst of these publique distractions, I have still liberty to communicate ; and may this sacrament be MY DAMNATION if my heart joine not with my lips in this protestation.*

The Life and Reigne of King Charles: Or the Pseudo-Martyr discovered. With a late reply to an invective remonstrance against the Parliament and present government : together with some animadversions *on the strange contrariety* between the late King's public declarations, protestations, imprecations, and his pourtraicture, compared with his private letters and other of his expressees, not hitherto taken into common observation. Printed, London, 1651, in duodecimo.

But the most remarkable letter of the king to him, was written wholly in cypher on the twentieth of July the same year, which is inserted in Latin in the Nuncio's Memoirs, and in Italian in Vittorio Siri's Mercurio. "Glamorgan, I am not so strictly guarded, but that  
 " if you send to me a prudent and secret person, I can receive a letter, and you may signify  
 " to me your mind, I having always *loved your person and conversation*, which I ardently  
 " wish for at present more than ever, if it could be had without prejudice to you, whose  
 " safety is as dear to me as my own. If you can *raise a large sum of money by pawning my*  
 " *kingdoms* for that purpose I am content you should do it ; and if I recover them, I will fully  
 " repay that money. And tell the Nuncio, that if once *I can come into his and your hands*,  
 " which ought to be *extremely wished for by you both*, as well *for the sake of England as Ire-*  
 " *land*, since *all the rest*, as I see, *despise me*, I will do it. And if I do not say this from my  
 " heart, or if in any future time I fail you in this, may God never restore me to my kingdoms in  
 " this world, nor give me eternal happiness in the next, to which I hope this tribulation will  
 " conduct me at last, after I have satisfied my obligations to my friends, to none of whom  
 " I am so much obliged as to yourself, whose merits towards me exceed all expressions that  
 " can be used by your Constant Friend, Charles R.

" From Newcastle, July 20, 1646."

A copy of this letter was, soon after the receipt of it, sent from Ireland to the pope, who received great comfort from the reading it; but, at the same time, shed tears of compassion for the king's circumstances, as the Dean of Fermo wrote four days after his arrival at Rome, viz. Nov. 8, to the Cavalier Rinuccini, the Nuncio's brother, at Florence, to whom he inclosed a copy of that letter.

Inquiry into the share which King Charles I. had in the transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan, edit. 2.

——— Besides, to shew his respect unto them, *I know he obliterated with his owne hand the word Irish Rebels, and put in Irish subjects*, in a manuscript discourse, writ by Sir Edward Walker, and presented unto him, *which I have seen*, of the Irish Rebellion.

Observations on the Life and Death of King Charles. By William Lilly. Printed, London, 1651, in quarto.

——— “As for my calling those at London a *Parlament*, I shall refer thee to Digby for a particular satisfaction; this in generall, if there had been but two, besides myself, of my opinion, I had not done it: *and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no wayes acknowledge them to be a Parlament, upon which condition and construction I did it, and no otherwayes, and accordingly it is registred in the Councell books, with the Councel's unanimous approbation.*”

Extract of a letter from Charles I. to his Queen; dated Oxford, Jan. 2, 1645: taken from “The King's Cabinet opened: or certain Packetts of secret letters and papers, *written with the King's own hand*, taken in his cabinet at Nasby-field, June 14, 1645, &c. published by special order of Parlament.” Printed, London, 1645, in quarto.

Mem. The volume was bought for the Right Hon. Charles Townshend, for three pound odd money.





*A counter or jetton of Edward III, struck in France,  
supposed to allude to his right to the crown of that Kingdom.*

*Edwardus rex REGNAT*



Æ



*Garde Robe Regis*

*In the possession of Thomas Hollis F.R. & A.S.S.*

*See also the NOBLE of this magnanimous King, asserting the dominion of the Seas,  
& commemorating a signal naval victory obtained over the french fleet, in 1340.*

*The first English coronation medal, after an original in silver;  
now in the possession of Thomas Hollis Esq. F.R. & A.S.S.*



oz. dwts.  
1. 10.



*For IBEINIAZ read IBERNIAZ*

† See 24 H. 8, c. 12—25 H. 8, c. 21—26 H. 8, c. 1—28 H. 8, c. 10—31 H. 8, c. 14—35 H. 8, c. 3  
And Decretum Oxoniense dat. in domo congregationis nostre XXVII die mensis junii anno a Christo nato 1534  
And the Note in Bishop Gibson's Codex Vol. I, P. XXVIII  
And 1 Edw. 6, c. 2, a. 3—c. 12, a. 6

## Another Letter from Mr. HOLLIS to the Printer of the London Chronicle.

S I R,

HAVING passed a day lately, agreeably, at Woolwich, in viewing the Dock and Warren; I could not but take notice in the Warren of one large cannon, among many antient curious cannons, which have been preserved there by care of the Board of Ordnance, for the simplicity of its form and singularity of its *Inscription*.

Although I was in some hurry at that time, yet I think I have copied that inscription exactly; and, as it is of an highly interesting nature, I shall lay it before the public, in your courteous Chronicle, together with a few observations which have occurred to me concerning it.

*“ Elizabetha, Dei gratia Anglie, Francie, et Hibernia Regina Fidei Defensor, et in Terris  
“ Ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernie Supremum Caput.”*

And towards the breech of the cannon,

*“ Ambrose, Earle of Warwicke, was Maister of the Ordinaunce when Samael Owen made me,  
“ anno domini 1588.”*

On the upper part of it appear the arms of the Queen, and over them the crown.

By what accident the Latin inscription became faulty I guess not, unless, possibly, through ignorance of the graver, whose business it was to clear out the letters of it; but it is the stranger, as the Queen was a very learned exact lady; and, of consequence, her ministers and servants must have been, and history informs us they were, learned, exact like her.

That inscription, however, alludes manifestly to a very valuable scarce medal, of Henry VIII. and to the as valuable, scarce coronation medal, the first and noblest of English coronation medals of Edward VI. which medals were stricken on the dawn and progress of the Reformation, and have been engraven among the plates published by the laudable Society of Antiquaries of London and elsewhere.

The medal of Hen. VIII. represents the bust of that King in profile, with the following inscription in Latin on the face of it, and an inscription to the same sense in the Greek and Hebrew languages, on the reverse of it.

*“ Henricus octa Angliæ, Franci. et H.b. Rex Fidei Defensor, et in Terris Ecclæ Angli et Hibe  
“ sub Christi. Caput Supremum.”*

The medal of Edward VI. exhibits that excellent young prince in armour, with the crown upon his head, the orb in his left, and a drawn sword in his right hand. The inscription on it runs likewise in the three learned languages, and the Latin, as here under:

*“ Edwardus VI. D. G. Ang. Fr. et Hi. Rex Fidei Defens et in Terris Arg. et Hib. Ecclæ.  
“ Caput Supremum Coronatus est MDXLVI, xx Februa Etatis decimo.”*

Much might be added, but I shall now close with a singular note on 26 Hen. VIII. relating to the Supremacy, which is copied from the late Bp. Gibson's Codex, edit. 1, vol. I. p. 28.

“ [Recognized by the clergy.] This recognition was made upon occasion of the grant of ten thousand pounds made by the clergy, to obtain from the King a general pardon of all forfeitures by them incurred, upon the statutes of *Provisors and Praemunire*; particularly by their having submitted to the Legatin authority of Cardinal Wolsey, contrary to the tenor of the said statutes. The grant of the subsidy, *as to the money*, appears to have passed the convocation quietly and easily; but the king refused to accept the gift, or grant the pardon, unless after the words *Ecclesiae et Cleri Anglicani*, in the form of the grant, they would add, *cujus Protector et supremum caput is solus est, &c.*

“ This remained under the deliberation of both Houses of Convocation, who, by their debates, appear to have been very desirous that the King would have accepted the subsidy without the clause; but in the thirty-fourth session, the King’s Commissioners being sent to inquire, whether they had yet come to any resolution, told them, *quod Dominus Rex noluit admittere ullam qualificationem super eadem*. Again, the next session, the commissioners declared, *Se non habere commissionem de concludendo super articulo pardonationis et exceptionis ejusdem, priusquam conclusum fuisset per episcopos et clerum super dicto articulo*. At length it was agreed in these words, *Ecclesiae et Cleri Anglicani, cujus singularem Protectorem unicum et supremum Dominum ET QUANTVM PER CHRISTI LEGEM LICET, etiam supremum caput ipsius majestatem recognoscimus.*”

I am, S I R,

July 27, 1768.

Your most humble servant,

PATINA ANTIQUARIORUM.

N° XXXVI.

Another Letter from Mr. HOLLIS to the Printer of the London Chronicle.

S I R,

A VISIT to the Tower, to see sights, on the anniversary of the coronation of the King, GOD blest him, occasioned me to observe several very antient curious English and Scottish cannons, which are preserved in that place.

Two of them, *with remarkable inscriptions*, I beg leave to take some notice of in your Chronicle, by way of addition to my letter of July 27.

The first, is a fifty-two-pounder of Henry VIII. and bears the following inscription,  
“ Henricus VIII, Anglie, Fræcie, et Hibernie, Rex, *Fidei Defensor* INVICTISSIMUS f. f.”

And lower upon the cannon,

“ Arcanus de Arcanis Cefnen. fecit.”

Who this Engineer of Cesena further was, I am ignorant; but, by the skill shewn in this fine cannon, he appears to have been one of those eminent Italians, Restorers of Science and the Arts, to whose memory the universal public owes greatest obligation.

The



The second, is an eighteen pounder, or thereabout, of Edward VI, and is thus inscribed,

“ Edwardus sextus, Dei Gratia, Anglie, Francie, et Hibernie, Rex, Fidei Defensor, et  
“ *in Terra Ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernice Supremum caput.*”

And upon the breech of it,

“ Robert and John Owin, Bretherin, made this Pece, anno dñi 1548.”

So chary were Henry VIII and Edward VI of the *Supremacy*, that they not only recorded it on their medals, and Edward upon his cannon, but likewise on their great seals, as appears in Sandford's “*Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England, and Monarchs of Great Britain:*” And why Elizabeth omitted recording it on her Great Seal, though upon her cannon, which is the fact, may possibly prove the subject of future animadversion.

If the Board of Ordnance, perchance, should see this and the former letter, consider the nature of that matter which they contain, and view it in the same curious, important light the writer of them does, and should be pleased to cause the cannon of Elizabeth to be sent from Woolwich to the Tower, and to be mounted, together with that of Henry VIII, and both to be ranged in due order and *good light*, with that of Edward VI; they would, it is humbly apprehended, afford considerable entertainment to many of the most ingenious of our countrymen: and exhibit to foreigners of the Romish Communion, in high rank, now beginning *Reformation*, who shall visit the Tower, an illustrious example of the earlier spirit and magnanimity of our princes in that respect, the felicity resulting from which those foreigners will have beheld every where around them in this happy Island. I am,

S I R,

Oct. 1, 1762.

Your most humble servant,

PATINA ANTIQVARIORVM.

## To the Printer of the London Chronicle.

S I R,

June 7, 1768.

TO contribute my mite also before the public to that of *Pro Grege*, in his excellent anecdote of Lord Chief Justice Holt, lately printed in your valuable paper; I send you an extract of a letter from Algernon Sydney to Henry Savile, ambassador in France, with a note relating to it, as they appear in the last edition of A. Sydney's works.

When those works were published, 1763, the Monthly Reviewers observed upon the note, "We cannot now indeed ask where is the law—where is the authority for guards? But we have known it annually debated, the necessity of them. Of late, however, the point, alas! seems to be given up."—I am,

S I R,

Runing Med, June 5.

PRO REPUBLICA SEMPER.

"—The next important point likely to be pursued, is to prosecute the last week's vote, *that all the forces now in England, except the trained bands, were kept up contrary to law*\*; and though it was objected, that the king's guards and the garrisons of Portsmouth, and other places, would be included; it was answered, that *kings governing justly according to law had no need of custodia corporis*; and that it was better to have no garrisons at all, than such as were commanded by Legge, Holmes, and their Peers."

\* Sir Robert Atkins, in his remarks on Lord Russell's indictment, wherein *the attempting to seize and destroy the king's guards was laid as an overt act of treason*. "The guards—what guards? [says he] what or whom does the law understand or allow to be the king's guards, for the preservation of his person? whom shall the court that tried this noble Lord, whom shall the judges of the law that were then present and upon their oaths, whom shall they judge or legally understand by these guards? they never read of them in all their law-books. There is not any statute law that makes the least mention of any guards. The law of England takes no notice of any such guards; and therefore the indictment is uncertain and void.

The king is guarded by the special protection of Almighty God, by whom he reigns, and whose vicergerent he is. He has an invisible guard, a guard of glorious angels:

Non eget Mauri jaculis, nec arcu,  
Nec venenatis gravida sagittis  
(crede) pharetra,

The king is guarded by the the love of his subjects, the next under God, *and the surest guards*. He is guarded by the law and the courts of justice. The Militia and the *Trained Bands* are his legal guard, and the whole kingdom's guard. The very judges that tried this noble Lord were the king's guards, and the kingdom's guards; and this Lord Russell's guard, against all erroneous and imperfect indictments, from all false evidence and proof, from all strains of wit and oratory misapplied and abused by council.

What other guards are there? we know of no law for more. King Henry VII. of this kingdom, a history tells us, was the *first* that set up the band of pensioners. Since this, the yeomen of the guard, since them, certain armed bands, commonly now a-days, *after the French mode*, called the *king's Life Guard*, rid about, and appearing with naked swords, to the terror of the nation; but *where is the law?* where is the authority for them?"

See Parliamentary and Political Tracts, by Sir Robert Atkins, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

N° XXXVIII.

To the Printer of the London Chronicle.

S I R,

LOOKING among my papers the other day I chanced to meet with a copy of the following letter, which came into my hands originally by accident, and hath lain by me many years.

It is a great curiosity ; and doth such just honor to the then ministry of the times, the parties noticed in it, and these nations, that I could not forbear sending it to you, for the entertainment of the public, and the certain preservation of it to posterity.

If four ships of the line, one galley, four bomb vessels, could awe a city in which were three hundred thousand inhabitants, force the recall of twenty thousand troops and a neutrality from the monarch of two kingdoms, what might not the whole navy of Britain command ? This was a question often agitated before the last war. Then it got answered, “ THE WORLD.” And why a ship sails through it at this time, without our special permission, hath depended *on our will*. I am,

S I R,

April 29, 1766.

Your most humble servant,

MARE CLAVSVM.

*Copy of a Letter from Edward Allen, Esq. British Consul at Naples, to the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Southern department ; dated Naples, Aug. 17, 1742.*

“ My Lord,

“ I have the honor to acquaint your Grace, that Commodore Martin, in his Majesty’s ship the Ipswich, with the Panther Capt. Gideon, the Oxford Capt. Paulet, the Feverham Capt. Hughes, the Dursley Galley Capt. De l’Angle, four bomb vessels, and four tenders, arrived in this bay on Sunday morning the fifteenth instant.

“ About three in the afternoon they all came to an anchor before the town. But some hours before this the Duke de Montcallegre, his Sicilian Majesty’s first Minister, sent to me, and desired me to go on board the Commodore’s ship, to know his intentions ; which, he said, appeared to be hostile ; but he added, that his Sicilian Majesty would be glad to receive the English as Friends, having nothing more at heart than to live in amity with the King of Great Britain.

“ I went immediately, and delivered him the message above-mentioned. He told me, in answer, that he brought a message from his Britannic Majesty to the King of the Two Sicilies, importing, “ That his Sicilian Majesty having violated his neutrality, by joining his “ forces with the declared enemies of Great Britain, of the Queen of Hungary and King of “ Sardinia, with whom his majesty was in alliance ; he, the commodore, was sent to require

“ the



“ the king of the Two Sicilies, not only to withdraw his troops from acting in conjunction with those of Spain, but to promise, in writing, not to give them any further assistance in any respect :” adding, “ that, if his Sicilian Majesty should delay giving the satisfaction demanded, he had orders to bombard the city of Naples.”

“ Capt. De l’Angle was charged to carry this message, which he had in writing, to the court of Naples; and the Commodore desired me to accompany and assist the captain, he not speaking, or *not choosing to speak* [who remembers not a like manly recent procedure of gallant General Irwin ?] any other language than English.

“ It was about five o’clock when we came to the Secretary’s office; where I explained to the Duke De Montecallegre the exact and full purport of the message: And he promised an answer as soon as the King should be returned from the church of the Carmelites, where he was gone, as usual, on that day. And returning at six, a grand council was immediately summoned. And about eight the secretary came down from council, and told us, that notwithstanding his Sicilian Majesty thought he had reason to complain of the sudden and peremptory manner in which this demand was made and enforced; it should be complied with, and in writing, as required: but desired to have an assurance also, in writing, that, upon such compliance, no hostilities should be committed.

“ We then returned aboard. And Commodore Martin told me, his orders were absolute, and did not authorize him to give any answer in writing; but that he expected a compliance in an hour’s time after our being ashore.

“ The Duke of Montecallegre then desired, that he might insert in his letter, that upon Captain De l’Angle’s and my assurances, by word of mouth, that no hostilities should be committed, his Sicilian Majesty did promise, &c. Capt. De l’Angle said, he apprehended the Commodore would not approve of that condition. Upon which the Duke desired me, in particular, to assure him, that, if he objected to it, it should be left out; and that the substance being fully what was required, he hoped it would be sufficient for that night. He then asked me, if the Queen might go to bed and sleep securely? I told him, her Majesty might, upon my word; as I could depend upon his, and would engage mine to the Commodore, that, if he insisted upon it, the letter should be altered, and transcribed in the form and words he should prescribe.

“ It was past midnight when I returned aboard; and the Commodore was so far satisfied, as to promise he would not commence any hostilities, upon the assurances given him by me, that any thing he objected to should be left out.

“ Accordingly, in the morning, another letter was wrote, in the exact words required; which I carried to the Commodore, accompanied by General Bourke, who had orders from the King to invite him on shore, which he declined. The General then said, that as the people were greatly alarmed and still in consternation, it was desired he would not delay his departure. To which he answered, that he should stay or go when he thought proper; and that he was sent as an officer upon this command, to act and execute his orders, not to treat and negotiate as a minister. But as soon as the General was gone, and at a proper distance

distance from the ship's side, the Commodore saluted him with eleven guns, and immediately gave orders to make the signal for sailing; and they were out of sight the next morning, having been only twenty-four hours at an anchor in the Bay. Here under is the copy of the letter.

" I have the honor to be, &c."

May 13, 1766.

N° XXXIX.

*Calais.* The Magistrates of this antient town have invited the comedians François to come hither, during the closure of the theatre at Paris in the Holy Week, to represent the celebrated new tragedy of *The Siege of Calais*, offering to bear the expences of their expedition. The French comedians, it is said, accepted the invitation, but declined the gratuity; when his Most Christian Majesty interfering, ordered that the whole expence of their journey and representation should be defrayed out of the royal coffer.

To the Printer of the London Chronicle.

S I R,

IN the year 1558, a publication, consisting of eight leaves in small octavo, came forth at Paris, *avec privilege*, intituled, "*Epitaphe de la Ville de Calais, faite par Anthoine Fauquet, natif de la Ville et Cite d'Amiens. Plus une Chanson sur la prise du dict Calais.*"

After a dedication, and other matter in it, appear these verses:

Vox in Rama audita est,  
Ploratus et ululatus Calais;  
Plorans Filios suos, et noluit  
Consolari, quia non sunt.

And then follow the *Epitaphe* and *Chanson*; the first of which bears allusion to the Latin verses throughout it.

At present I shall only lay before the public the concluding stanza of the *Epitaphe*; but the whole, *Epitaphe* and *Chanson*, though somewhat long, shall be at their service, by your favour, if they choose it.

QVIA, Reduite est en la main du Roi  
Tres chrestien, ceste tant forte place,  
Il faut prier Dieu, qu'en tres bon arroy  
Gardée soit par sa benigne grace:  
Et, que chascun de nous devant sa face  
Soit mieux sentant de la foy, que ne sont  
Les dictz Anglois, qui n'ont par leur audace  
Joye et plaisir, puis qu'en Calais NON SVNT.

In

In the same year the following medaglion was struck in France :

Face. The bust of Hen. II. in profile. HENRICVS II REX CHRISTIANISSIMVS.

Reverse. The King armed, on horseback, proceeding amid his troops; Victory leading the way. MAIORA SEQVENTVR. In the exurge. EXACTIS BRITANNIS ET CALETO GVINIAQ. [Guifnes] RECEPT.

It may be seen in the celebrated "Numismata" of Thomas late Earl of Pembroke.

These anecdotes have occurred, on observing in the public papers, that a new tragedy is acting in France, called *The Siege of Calais*, composed with what view, and noticed so extraordinarily, I am wholly ignorant. I shall close them, by recommending to the curious the perusal of a book, published in the year 1757, now out of print, but frequently to be met with, written by an eminent spirited English antiquarie, intituled, "A Series of above two hundred Anglo-Gallic, or Norman and Aquitan coins of the antient Kings of England, exhibited in sixteen plates, and illustrated in twelve letters," &c. in which series are many coins of our Edwards and our Henries, that were stricken at Calais, and impressed with these words on their reverses, VILLA CALISIE. I am,

S I R,

March 30, 1765.

Your constant reader,

ROAST BEEF OF OLD ENGLAND, (T. H.)

Nº XL.

Extract taken from "The continuation of Rapin's History of England,  
"by N. Tindal," vol. II. fol. edit. p. 445.

— In the mean time, the settlement of the *Succession* was a great subject of discourse and alarm abroad. Those popish princes who were descended from the blood-royal of England, and were more nearly related to the crown than the princess Sophia, were offended at being struck off from their remote hopes and presumptive right.

But the person more immediately concerned, as being nearest in blood, after the King [w. III] and the Princess Anne, was the Duchess of Savoy, daughter to the late Duchess of Orleans, and grand-daughter to K. Charles I. who therefore ordered Count Maffei, ambassador from Savoy, to make a *protestation of her right*, to this effect, "That Anne of Orleans, Duchess of Savoy, Princess of the blood-royal of England, by the Royal Princesses of Great Britain Henrietta her mother, put so high a value upon that prerogative, that she gladly made use of the opportunity that then offered, to set it forth before the eyes of the whole English nation, as an evidence she drew from thence, of having a right to that august throne. That, therefore, being informed, that it had been resolved in the  
"parliament,



“parliament, that being the only daughter of the late Princess Royal, Henrietta her mother, she was the next in succession after his Majesty William III, and the Princess Anne of Denmark, according to the laws and customs of England, which always preferred the nearest to the remotest line. That her title, being thus notoriously known and indisputable, stood in need of no farther proof. However, that she thought fit to protest against all resolutions and decisions contrary thereto in the best and most effectual manner that might be practised in such a case; wherein she complied rather with custom than necessity, because she had so great an idea of the wisdom and justice of the King and Parliament, that she had no cause to fear they would do any thing prejudicial to her and her children.”

This Savoy protestation seemed to be an affront to King James, his Queen, and the pretended Prince of Wales; since the Duchess of Savoy vouchsafed not to take the least notice of them, but substituted herself immediately after the Princess of Denmark, and thereby appeared to confirm the just suspicions of the Pretender's birth.

*Extract taken from the “ Debates relative to the affairs of Ireland, in the years 1763 and 1764.”*  
vol. II. p. 475.

Thursday, Nov. 24, 1763.

Mr. S——,

———— I shall communicate a fact to this house, from which it will appear, that the grant of pensions to aliens is supposed to be contrary to the sense of the nation, even by the advisers of such grant, and therefore not avowed, though made.

There is a pension, Sir, granted, nominally, to one *George Charles*; but, really, to Monsieur *De Verois*, the *Sardinian* Minister, for negotiating the peace that has just been concluded with the minister of France. I must confess, Sir, that, in my opinion, this Service deserved no such recompence, at least on our part; so that, in this case, our money is not only granted to an alien, but to an alien who has no merit to plead.

If it is thought a defensible measure I should be glad to know why it was not avowed? and why, if it is proper we should pay a thousand pounds a year to Monsieur *Verois*, we should be made to believe that we pay it to *George Charles*?” ———

October 13, 1768.

## Anecdotes of Mr. Stephens, communicated to Mr. H. by Baron.

Drawn up for the information of a gentleman, who lately signed himself *Cantab*, in one of the public prints, and other curious persons, by

AN OLD WHIG.

WILLIAM STEPHENS, son of Richard Stephens of Worcester, became a Butler or Semi Com. of S. Edmund Hall, Oxford, June 1663, aged 14 years; proceeded in arts, and was preacher for some time at Laurence Hinxley near Oxford, where, by his sedulous endeavours, he caused the Tower to be re-edified by his parishioners—was also lecturer at Carfax in Oxford; afterward was Bachelor of Divinity, and *Rector of Sutton in Surry*.

He was the author of “A Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, at S. Mary le Bow, Jan. 30, 1693, on Lam. v. 16,” in quarto. It was dedicated to Sir William Ashurst, Lord Mayor of London, and the Court of Aldermen. In answer to it, about the beginning of March, was published, “A true Protestant Bridle; or some cursory remarks upon a sermon preached before the Lord Mayor, Jan. 30, 1693-4, in a letter to Sir P. D. Bar.” 1694, in quarto, written by Thomas Rogers.

Ath. Oxon. vol. II. p. 1129.

In a volume of scarce quarto-tracts, relating to the controversy concerning standing-armies in England, which is in possession of the *Old Whig*, appears, “A letter humbly addressed to the most excellent father of his country, the wise and victorious Prince King William III. by a dutiful and well-meaning subject. London, printed by J. Darby,” 1698, in quarto. On the back of the title of it is written, “By Mr. Stephens, Rector of Sutton in Surrey, and author of the celebrated sermon preached Jan. 30, 1699-1700, before the House of Commons, a part of which is supposed to be drawn up by Mr. Trenchard.”

This letter is wholly political; and, so far as the *Old Whig* can judge upon the matter, contains excellent and more sound advice for the present use and benefit of his Majesty King George III. and of his people, God bless them, than has hitherto been furnished to the King by *all* his state-counsellors.

In a collection of tracts, titled, “The Pillars of Priestcraft and Orthodoxy shaken,” vol. II. edit. 2, may be seen, “A sermon preached before the Honorable House of Commons, Jan. 30, 1699-1700, being an anniversary sermon for the day, by William Stephens, B. D. Rector of Sutton in Surrey.” This *Advertisement* is prefixed to it: “The *Honorable Auditory* before whom the following sermon was preached, having expressed their dislike, I never designed to have had it printed; but, since it is stolen uncorrectly into the world, without my privity, I hope it will not be imputed as a crime, that I amend the *errata* of the Press. *William Stephens*.”

Feb. 22, 1770.

N<sup>o</sup> XLII.

## A Character of Spiritualis [Abp. Secker] with Reproof.

To the Printer of the London Chronicle.

S I R,

SPIRITUALIS, who, in a daily paper of December 27, bespatters “a *settled* minister, a Reverend Doctor of the Presbyterian Persuasion, an admired Orator, an able “controversial Writer,” was, it is probable, originally, a Dissenter himself; became afterward a Reverend Doctor of the Church of England, for reasons he knows best; and is supposed to have written an artful, severe, *anonymous* pamphlet, lately, and got himself commended for it in the publications of a Society of which he has the lead; in reply to an important, candid tract, written by the Reverend Doctor of the Presbyterian Persuasion, a friend at all times to civil and religious liberty, and the rights of the House of Hanover, to which tract that Doctor *had signed his name*. I am,

S I R,

Jan. 1, 1766.

Your most humble servant,

U L T O R,

N<sup>o</sup> XLIII.

## To the Printer of the St. James's Chronicle.

S I R,

AS you are a lover of antiquity, give me leave to communicate to you the following curiosity :

A child attending a funeral at St. Peter's church-yard picked up an antique piece of money, which had lain buried there probably for some hundreds of years, and is not mentioned in Mr. Simon's Book of Coins : It was fresh as out of the mint, not milled, and I suppose put in the mouth or hand of the dead to pay St. Peter for opening the gate of Paradise : A Pagan custom, deduced from Charon's fare. On one side is represented king David playing on the harp, with the imperial crown of Ireland over it, and these words round it, *Floreat Rex*. On the reverse is a bishop, with his crozier in his hand, standing by a cathedral, and blessing the people, with the following inscription round the circumference, *Quiescet Plebs* ; a proper motto even for modern times.

Yours, &amp;c.

Corke, Jan. 31, 1764.

J. D.



To the Printer of the London Chronicle.

S I R,

I F J. D. of Corke, who flooked out a letter in one of the public papers, dated Jan. 31, 1764, concerning a piece of money found there lately in St. Peter's church-yard, had looked with attention into the "Essay towards an historical account of Irish coins," by the late ingenious and worthy antiquarie Mr. James Simon, of Dublin; he would have seen the print of it, and the description and circumstances relating to it.

As the observations of Mr. Simon on that piece of money, and on the other monies supposed to have been struck by the rebels, MASSACRISTS in Ireland, and on the monies struck there by the protestants in their necessities, in consequence of the massacre, are little known, are extremely curious, and exceedingly interesting to all lovers of civil and religious liberty; and as there is abundant proof of your ingenuity and good-will towards all men, there can be no doubt but you will find place for them in your paper. I am,

S I R,

London,  
Feb. 24, 1764.

Your most humble servant,

LIVE AND LET LIVE.

"After the execrable massacre of 1641, the Lords Justices and Council, in order to raise a fund, immediately wanted to maintain an army to suppress the rebels, issued a proclamation Jan. 14, 1642, to encourage his majesty's loyal subjects to bring in their plate for the service of the government; which was chearfully complied with, and the same hastily coined into several kinds of species of different shapes. One kind has only the weight stamp on them; as nineteen penny weight, eight grains—nine penny weight, eight grains—three penny weight, twenty grains—one penny weight, six grains. Another kind, instead of the weight has only the value, V for five shillings.—

The next year, pursuant to the king's letter, dated Oxford, May 25, the Lords Justices issued a second proclamation, for further encouragement to the loyal subjects to bring in their plate to Sir John Veale, Knt, Peter Vanderhoven, and Gilbert Tongues, goldsmiths, authorized by commission under the great seal of this kingdom [Ireland], to receive and coin the same into pieces of five shillings, half-crowns, shillings, six, four, three, two penny pieces, and pennies; to be of the same weight and alloy with the money then current in England; and to be each of them stamped, on one side with the letters C. R. for Carolus Rex, and a crown over them, and on the other side with the value of each of the said pieces, without inscription.

The money struck by virtue of the said commission, was, by this proclamation, declared to be the current coin of this kingdom, and ordered to pass and be taken as such.—About an hundred and twenty thousand pounds worth was coined at this time.

It appears by the king's letter above-mentioned, that his majesty still designed to restore the royal mint in Dublin, but was prevented by the troubles in England.

There

There was ANOTHER SORT of money coined in this kingdom, without inscription; having on one side a plain cross, and on the other the value V<sup>s</sup> for five shillings: and perhaps smaller pieces. [Plate VIII, numb. 173, he afterwards gives the print of a half crown.] This is supposed to have been struck during the siege of Dublin, in 1641. But from the cross imprinted on it I should rather think, that it was coined in imitation of and opposition to the last-mentioned money, and much about the same time, *by the chiefs of the rebels*, who pretended to act under the king's authority, as appears by several of their petitions to the king, in Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond; for, amongst other acts of their general assembly at Kilkenny, in 1642, we find one whereby it was ordered, "That a seal should be made for the kingdom. That every person whatsoever, talking or discoursing, in writing or otherwise of the enemies, shall not call them by the name or names of English or protestants; but shall call them by the name of *puritanical or malignant party*. That coin and plate shall be raised and established in this kingdom, according to the rates and values hereafter mentioned; and that there shall be forthwith coined the sum of four thousand pounds, to pass current in this kingdom, according to a proclamation or act published by the direction of this assembly in the city of Kilkenny, and not otherwise. That the Earl of Castlehaven, and such others as his Lordship shall call to his assistance, shall present unto the supreme Council of this Kingdom an institution and order of knighthood, concerning the honour of St. Patrick and the *glory* of this kingdom." It seems therefore more probable, that that sort of money was struck by the Rebels, by virtue of this act of their assembly; as were, probably, the copper pieces called St. Patrick's halfpence and farthings, which I likewise ascribe to them, and suppose to have been struck about this time, for they too WELL allude to some passages in this act to doubt of their having been coined upon this occasion, in honour of St. Patrick, and of their new order of knighthood.

These halfpennies have on one side the figure of a King crowned with a radiant crown, kneeling, and playing on the harp; and over the harp the imperial crown of England, of a different metal from that of the coin, with this inscription, FLOREAT REX: Reverse, the figure of St. Patrick, mitred, standing with a crozier in his right hand, and a leaf of trefoil [a cross rather] in his left, which he holds out to the people about him [*Roman Catholics*, or, in the language of our laws, *Papists*], and on his left [side] the arms of Dublin, three castles; with this inscription ECCE GREX.

The farthing [the coin that J. D. scribbled of it is possible with low *bungled* cunning,] has likewise on one side a King crowned, playing on the harp, a crown of copper or brass over it, and the inscription, FLOREAT REX: Reverse, St. Patrick mitred, holding in his left hand a double or metropolitan cross, a church being behind him, and stretching out his right hand over a parcel of serpents and other venomous creatures, as if driving them out of the church, and *alluding to the Protestants*, called, in the before-mentioned act, *the puritanical and the malignant party*; with this inscription, QVIESCAT PLEBS [the escaped, VNSLAVGHTERED Protestants!]

There

There are still preserved by the curious some few silver pieces, with the same impressions and inscriptions of these copper-pieces. [May they ever be preserved; with the copper half-pennies and farthings; and the money bearing the crosses; and all such *sanguinary* coins and medals, of which there is store, that have been stricken by papists, in their confidence, on like BUTCHERIES elsewhere; as monuments of horror to our youth, AND WARNINGS TO POSTERITY!] It is thought that they were struck as medals; but, for my part, I think they were struck upon the same occasion, and intended by the Kilkenny Assembly [the smaller sort, no other having been seen, it is apprehended by Mr. Simon, or the writer, or his friends,] to pass for shillings."

Simon, p. 47, 8, 9.

Nº XLIV.

To the Printer of the London Chronicle.

—*Dehinc Gnatia lymphis*  
*Iratis extructa dedit risusque, jocosque;*  
*Dum flammâ sine, thura liquefcere limine sacro*  
*Persuadere cupit.*

HORATII, Sat. v. Lib. 1.

THERE was a paragraph in the papers, not long since, from Naples, wherein we are told, that the blood of St. Januarius liquified on the spot this year, to the great satisfaction of the people.—To please the multitude, the miracle must operate in the nick of time: if it fails, or proceeds but slowly, they always look upon it as an evil omen.

As this liquefaction is esteemed a very eminent miracle in the Roman church, and is, we find, so considerable as to draw the attention of kings, I imagine it will be grateful to your readers, and satisfactory to all real protestants, to give them some account of this notable wonder, which the papists would fain have us look upon as an undoubted attestation to the truth of their faith, and an unanswerable argument of the catholicism of their church.

This miracle did not escape the notice of Mr. Addison; he tells us, in his *Remarks on several parts of Italy*, p. 121, "that he saw at Naples a very splendid procession for the accession of the Duke of Anjou to the crown of Spain, in which the Viceroy bore his part—To grace the parade, they exposed, at the same time, the blood of St. Januarius, which liquified at the approach of the saint's head; though, as they say, it was hard congealed before. I had twice an opportunity of seeing the operation of this pretended miracle; and must confess, that I think it so far from being a real miracle, that I look upon it as one of the most bungling tricks I ever saw: yet it is this that makes as great a noise as any in the

Roman



Roman church ; and is that which M. Pafchall has hinted at among the rest in his Marks of the True Religion.—The modern Neapolitans seem to have copied it out from one which was shewn in a town in the kingdom of Naples, as long ago as in Horace's time.

—*Dein Gnatia lymphis*

*Iratis extructa dedit risusque, jocosque ;  
Dum flammâ sine, thura liquefcere limine sacro  
Persuadere cupit —*

At Gnatia next arriv'd, we laugh'd to see  
The superstitious crowd's simplicity,  
That in the sacred temple needs wou'd try,  
Without a fire, the unheated gums to fry ;  
Believe who will the solemn sham, not I. }

Thus far Mr. Addison ; and it is indeed very remarkable, that a Pagan miracle should be found thus correspondent to a papal one. Dr. Middleton, in his *excellent* letter from Rome, has not omitted to mention this conformity of Heathen with Christian superstition ; he observes, (p. 61. of his letter, 3d edit. quarto) that “ this melting of St. Januarins's blood at Naples is one of the standing and most authentic miracles of Italy.”—But Mabillon's own account of the miracle seems to solve it very naturally, without the help of a miracle ; for, during the time that a mass or two are celebrated in the church, the other priests are tampering with this phial of blood, which is suspended all the while in such a situation, that, as soon as any part of it begins to melt, by the heat of his hands, or other management, it drops of course into the lower side of the glass, which is empty ; upon the discovery of which the priest proclaims the miracle aloud, to the great joy and edification of the people.—But, however it may be effected, it is plainly nothing else but the copy of an old cheat of the same kind, transacted near the same place, which Horace makes himself merry with, in his journey to Brundisium ; telling us how the priests would have imposed upon him and his friends, at a town called Gnatia, by persuading them that the “ frankincense in the temple used to dissolve and melt miraculously of itself without the help of fire.”

The ingenious Dr. Douglas, author of the *Criterion*, hath proceeded farther than the two excellent writers above ; and not only fully detected the insipid fraud, but given us a recipe whereby we may also turn wonder-workers, and liquify, at the approach of his miraculous scull, the blood of St. Januarius ; take the account in his own words :

“ That a substance, visibly dry and solid, having the appearance of coagulated blood, inclosed in a glass hermetically sealed, actually doth melt, while held by the priest in his hands, and brought near to the saint's head, which is placed upon the altar, is a fact which thousands of spectators are eye witnesses of every year. But however extraordinary this may seem, to suppose, as the Neapolitans do, that there is any miracle in the case, would be to make the experiments of the natural philosopher, and the transmutations of the chemist, deserve that name ; as some of them are far more surprising than the liquefaction of this saint's pretended.

pretended blood. The particular natural cause is not, indeed, absolutely agreed upon. Some have imagined, that the heat of the hands of the priests, who keep tampering with the phial of blood during the celebration of mass, will be sufficient to make it melt. Others again have been inclined to believe, that the liquefaction is effected by the heat of vast numbers of wax tapers of a most enormous size, with which the altar is decked out, and many of which are placed so conveniently, that the priest can, without any appearance of design, hold the glass so near them as to make it hot, and consequently dispose the inclosed substance to melt.—I should be inclined to subscribe to his opinion, had not I met with a more probable solution.

“ I am informed (for I never tried the experiment myself) that a composition of crocus martis, and cochineal, will perfectly resemble congealed blood; and by dropping the smallest quantity of aqua fortis amongst this composition, its dry particles will be put into a ferment, till at last an ebullition is excited, and the substance becometh liquid.

“ That a glass may be so contrived as to keep the aqua fortis separate from the dry substance, till the critical moment when the liquefaction is to be effected, may be easily conceived. And, in fact, the phial which containeth the pretended blood is so constituted. It is something like an hour glass, and the dry substance is lodged in the upper division. Now in the lower division of the glass a few drops of aqua fortis may be lodged, without furnishing any suspicion, as the colour will prevent its being distinguished.

“ All the attendant circumstances of this *bungling* trick (as Mr. Addison calls it) are perfectly well accounted for by admitting this solution. Whenever the priest would have the miracle take effect, he need only invert the glass, and then the aqua fortis being uppermost, will drop down upon the dry substance, and excite an ebullition which resembleth melting; and upon restoring the glass to its former position, the spectator will see the substance, the particles of which have been separated by the aqua fortis, drop down to the bottom of the glass, in the same manner that the sand runneth through.

“ The Neapolitans (as fit subjects to be imposed upon as the most servile bigotry and superstitious credulity can make them) esteem this annual miracle as a mark of the protection of heaven; and whenever the blood faileth to melt, a general panic ensueth.

“ Now, upon a supposition that I have assigned the real cause, the priests can prevent the success of the miracle whenever they please; and accordingly we know that they actually do so, when they have any prospect of advancing their own interest, by infusing a notion into the minds of the Neapolitans, that heaven is angry with their nation.” *Criterion* or miracles examined, &c. By John Douglas, D. D. p. 243. 246.

The same author also observes—

“ Whether or no I have succeeded in pointing out the real cause of this pretended miracle, I must leave to the few who have the honour of tampering with the sacred phial, and of conducting the annual show: it is enough to the many if I have assigned a cause, which will account for every thing that happens; and that I have assigned such a cause every one may satisfy himself.

When I published my account of the liquefied blood, I had not, at that time, tried the experiment of the crocus martis and cochineal; and therefore I could lay less weight on the solution of the trick, as mentioned to me by a friend. But now I can speak from my own knowledge, and consequently with greater confidence. Since I have lately mixed up some cochineal, with a larger quantity of crocus martis, and this constitutes a hard lump, perfectly resembling coagulated blood, and which might well bear to be produced on St. Januarius's altar. Upon dropping some aqua fortis on this solid lump, instantly there was excited a fermentation and bubbling of its parts, till by degrees the whole lump dissolved, and it became a liquid of about the consistence of thick blood.—This experiment I performed (I ask pardon, I should have said miracle) in the presence of a physician of learning, who assures me, that, besides aqua fortis, spirit of vitriol, or any other mineral acid, by being dropped upon the coagulated matter, will produce the desired effect. But spirit of vitriol, which is clear as water, will deceive the most curious spectator most effectually; and by the help of this and the other ingredients any good protestant may challenge the priests of Naples to try which of them shall perform the miracle most dextrously. I am,

S I R,

Your most humble servant,

PHILANTHROPY CANDID.

To the Editor of Lloyd's Evening Post.

S I R,

Monday, March 5, 1764.

IN an evening paper of last Saturday there is a very rational account of the manner in which the blood of St. Januarius may be supposed to be liquefied at Naples, drawn by the learned Dr. Douglas, author of the *Criterion*, or Miracles examined. The author of the letter which conveyed this account styles himself *Philanthropy Candid*; but he had not candor enough to own that it was transcribed almost *verbatim* from a note in Mr. Duncombe's Horace, on the very lines which he quotes as his motto,

—— *Dein Gnatia lymphis*

*Iratis extructa dedit risusque, jocosque, &c.*

See the 2d vol. p. 118 to 121, of the said Horace, printed for Doddsley, 1759. You are desired to insert the following note or two by Dacier, from the same source, which, it is thought, will entertain your readers.

*Dum flammâ sine, &c.*

The Priests at Egnatia exhibited a pretended miracle. They placed on a stone, in the portal of the temple, some grains of incense, or pieces of wood, which were immediately consumed without the application of fire.

Horace had not faith enough to believe such ridiculous stories, which were only invented to amuse fools.

*Vin' tu*

*Curtis Judæis oppedere?*



It is certain, that the poet here alludes to the miracle wrought by Elijah, in causing fire to descend from heaven and consume a bullock cut in pieces, the wood, and the stones, &c. after he had three times poured water on the sacrifice, and also filled the trench with water. See the story at large in the 1st Book of Kings, chap. xviii.

DACIER.

The critic is not so kind as to inform us, how he came to be so very sure, that Horace had read the books of the *Old Testament*.

D.

I am, S I R, &c.

C R I T O.

Nº XLV.

For the St. James's Chronicle.

An affectionate Address to British Protestant Dissenters from the established Church of England, of all Denominations.

BRETHREN, FRIENDS, COUNTRYMEN, FELLOW CHRISTIANS,

A CRY that Popery is once more rearing her horrible head in this land of liberty is gone forth, and hath been seconded by proofs which will admit of no dispute. The Papists and their abettors avow the fact, plead for it, and even insult us with their success in the public prints, as appears by a set of audacious queries published in one of them of December 14. Whence is it that your pastors and leaders are so silent on this interesting occasion? Is it out of all memory what your worthy forefathers have suffered from the iron claws of intolerance? Are all records lost of the noble and undaunted testimony they bore against religious and civil oppression under every disadvantage, danger, indignity, that could intimidate the human spirit? And are the comparative ease and advantages you now enjoy indifferent to you? But I am checked in the midst of my expostulations, and hear you rejoin: "Why all this to us? Have we the leading religious interest of the kingdom in our hands? Why do you not apply to your own great churchmen, who should naturally take the front in this warfare? Are not we, notwithstanding the toleration law, the objects of scandal and contempt with every orthodox son of the church? And if you be afraid for the members of your own flock, can you believe that our productions would make half so much impression upon them as those of the common enemy? Permit us then to content ourselves with admonishing our own people, in our tolerated department, and rouse your own slumbering watchmen to lead us the way at least, if we are to engage in more public operations." Patience, my beloved brethren, bear with a man, who, though a son of the established church, desires not to set himself above the level of the meanest among you, and whose

complaints

complaints upon this, or any other topick of Reformation, would be heard by our great churchmen, with as little regard as yours. It is the cause of the Protestant, and even of the Christian Religion, and not any paltry exclusive interest, for which your aid is solicited. There are men, nay, I will be bold to say, ministers, in our church, who value their temporal emoluments as little, and their Bibles and Christian Liberty as much, as any of you. Think not that you lie under any reproachful imputation with these, and I trust there are thousands of them in the land. Presbyterian, Independent, Anabaptist, are no longer terms of reproach with us, except when we see here and there a man of some of these denominations wrought upon by base lucrative views and time-serving motives, *forfaking his first love*, and attaching himself to a church or a ministry for the loaves and fishes. Such a one, into whatever height of power, or dignity of office, he may wriggle himself by his zig-zag principles and motions, is just as contemptible in our eyes as in yours. Esteem and reproach (thank God for better times) have long since ceased to be joined to names and professions, and are now, as they ought to be, transferred to actions and principles. Even the name of Quaker is no longer a name of scorn, but the popular appellation of a respectable set of Christians, whose benevolent and innocent edifying principles every one must admire, who hath perused those excellent rules of discipline (set forth by Dr. Rutt), by which the affairs of that laudable society are conducted. You see then, worthy brethren, you may now interpose your endeavours against the common enemy, with more advantage than you are aware of, and there is one consideration which makes me wish for your assistance on this occasion with more than common earnestness. It is this. You can push popery to the utmost extremity, without the least apprehension of recrimination. It is understood, that, with respect to forms, all among you is plain and simple, pure and evangelical, undefiled and unadulterated with any dregs of superstition, resting only on the solid basis of the gospel. With what superior force might you attack this mother of harlots and abominations, and shew, by exemplifying the simplicity of primitive times, the sufficiency of scripture for all the purposes of salvation? It is not to be dissembled that our church hath not this full advantage. The papists themselves remind us of too many particulars, which they tell us are striking resemblances, if not exact copies, of their originals. These you can effectually disclaim, and may leave us to defend them as we can, which, to say the truth, is not, in some cases, easily to be done. The time was, when your pious and learned fore-fathers held up a mirror to the established Church of England: a magnifying mirror, perhaps, in some respects; but, in others, a faithful mirror, truly representing spots and wrinkles, which, though we did not willingly contemplate, put us upon our guard, and made us careful to keep them out of sight, and prevent them from overspreading the face of our venerable and respected mother. Of late we have not often heard from you on this subject; hardly ever but when some rash headstrong Churchman hath called forth your champions with no credit to himself in the upshot. Some of us even wish you had repeated these admonitions, at shorter intervals, with decency and temper; and I much question whether your silence, and our repose in consequence of it, have been edifying to either party. Is not the late increase

of popery, one proof at least that they have not; an episcopal hierarchy upon any plan will bear watching. Spiritual power is extremely intoxicating even in those heads which laid in their first religious erudition with very low notions of it. There are members among ourselves who see with concern where things are not right, and where they are going still farther wrong. But to every suggestion in favour of reformation from us a short reproof is ever ready, viz. *Affront not the Establishment that maintains you.* I need not tell you what may be made of this among the mob. You are out of the reach of such impertinent unmanly reprehension. Be prevailed with then, worthy Fellow-Protestants, to exert yourselves on this important occasion; and fear not that you will be left to maintain the conflict alone. If our principles should be slack and backward in the service, there are others in inferior stations equally able, who will join you with alacrity, without apprehending that the church of England can be essentially hurt through the fides of Popery. The great, the renowned Chillingworth was of the Church of England, and numbers of us are ready to espouse and assert his principle, that "the BIBLE only is the Religion of Protestants," without being anxious for the fate of human inventions. And let none of us, thus united, suffer ourselves to be amused and ensnared with outward shews of civility, and the mistimed cant of moderation, which amount to nothing, and mean nothing, but to supply the place of opiates, that, when we are sufficiently dosed, the lurking assassin may execute his murderous purpose with the greater security.

I am, highly-esteemed Fellow-Protestants,

Your sincerely affectionate Brother,

A COUNTRY CURATE

Jan. 1, 1766.

*Of the Established Church.*



Copy of a Letter from an English Gentleman on his Travels, to a Friend  
of his in London ; dated Paris, March 21, 1766.

DEAR SIR,

IN compliance with your request, I have made it my business to enquire into the present state of the Popish Seminaries for the education of English and Irish Children in Flanders, and along the coast from Boulogne.

I have also endeavoured to discover, what are and have been the views and designs of the Popish Jacobite Party of Scotch, English, and Irish, the avowed enemies to our present happy constitution.

And I have collated every memoir concerning the character, conduct, and situation of the young Pretender since he left Avignon, that appeared to me to be well founded.

At Boulogne, which is an antient, disagreeable town, situated partly on an eminence, and partly in a bottom, close to the sea, there is a French convent very famous for the education of young ladies from England. At present they have about thirty English girls, from about eight years of age to fifteen.

There is likewise an English convent there. They have twenty; nearly of the same age.

At Calais, which is only seven leagues distant from Boulogne, there is a French convent, which has no less than seven-and-forty boarders, girls; all of them the children of Protestant parents about Dover, Canterbury, and other parts of Kent; and some of their parents are actually in the G——— service, such as masters of ——, &c.

At Graveline, four leagues from Calais, there is another English convent or nunnery, where they have twenty girls or more.

At Dunkirk, not four leagues from Calais, are two more nunneries; in each of which there are about thirty English girls.

At Bruges, twelve leagues from Dunkirk, there are two English convents, one of which has, at this time, near forty girls, and the other twenty-three.

At Ghent, eight leagues from Bruges, there is an English convent for girls. They have only fourteen.

At Brussels, ten leagues from Ghent, there are two English convents. One of them has sixteen girls, and the other about eighteen.

At Louvain, four leagues from Brussels, there is an English convent, which has near forty girls, chiefly Irish.

At Lear, a small town between Ghent and Antwerp, there is an English convent, where, I am informed, they have about thirty girls.

This is the state of the seminaries for girls in that country.

The

The general prices for board and education are from twelve to twenty pounds sterling a year. In some, music is paid for apart; in others, that and dancing are included.

It should be observed, that they will not grant the Protestant children, on any consideration, the least indulgence with respect to their own Religion; nor will they dispense with any other than the most strict conformity in them to the observance of all the rites and ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Religion. Thus—if they have any any Protestant books of devotion, they must lock them up, and peruse them in private; but in most convents they will not suffer the children to keep them. They must observe all fasts and vigils as strictly as the nuns themselves; must attend at mass on all festivals or days of obligation to hear mass.—The gardens and passages, from one part of these convents to another, are filled with images of the virgin and their saints; and the passing those images without a courtesy is a forfeit of a farthing or a halfpenny. The forfeits, for the first six months, draw a good deal of money out of the pockets of the parents of Protestant girls.

These girls are early and carefully grounded in a partial history of England; and taught to believe, that the true king of England is in exile at Rome.

When it is considered, how few parents in England give their children the least idea of history; the designing artful view of giving them a false notion of it here, appears in a *horrid* light; and when it is considered that these girls are to be wives to Protestant husbands, and mothers too of Protestant children, it seems more detrimental to have them educated in this manner than most men would imagine; and that they acquire not only an inclination, but even a fondness for the ceremonies of the *Romish* church, and an early attachment to the unfortunate house of *Stuart*, as they call it, is indubitable. I do not depend upon information, *I have seen* repeated instances of childrens attachment to each; and that so as to oppose the religion and government of their native country, with rancour and fury, at *fourteen* years of age.

I must now return to the neighbourhood of Calais, where the first considerable seminary for boys is to be found.

At St. Omer's, there is a stately building, a college, which belonged to the English Jesuits, before the Jesuits were expelled from France and its dominions. On their expulsion, a party of secular priests from Douay obtained leave to settle in that college. These priests are partly Irish, but the majority of them English. They have under their care about fifty boys; and they have rendered a school at Boulogne, kept likewise by secular priests, of little or no note.

Their brethren at Douay have near a hundred and fifty boys at their college.

Beside these, there is no seminary of account in the country till you get to Bruges; where the English Jesuits, with some few Irish, that were driven from St. Omer's, are more advantageously established than ever.

They have formed themselves into two colleges or societies, aiding and assisting to each other, by the names of the Minor School, and the College. They occupy, at present, two very large mansion houses, formerly belonging to noble families in Bruges; but they have purchased

purchased ground, and are preparing to erect very stately expensive buildings, for which purpose they send emissaries to England, from time to time, to collect contributions. They have one hundred and seventy-five youths in their college, *all of them clothed in the Jesuits habit*, their ages from ten to twenty-two years. The minor school has about eighty boys, from five to nine years of age. Between nine and ten they are sent to the upper school or college. In the parlours, at both schools, where the masters speak to strangers, there are whole and three-quarter length pictures of the young pretender, in regal robes, and in military dresses, with the ensigns of the order of the garter. Every pamphlet published in 1764 and 1765, tending to promote the principles of despotism, to extend the prerogative of the crown, &c. found its way to Bruges, where quantities were distributed in the college; and many of the indecent songs and prints, which glanced at the most respectable and first personages in the nation, were, at the same time, given to the little boys in the minor school: these, and the older boys in the college, are all obliged, strictly, to observe all the rites and ceremonies of the Romish Church.

In the minor school they board and educate for twenty pounds a year: in the college, for twenty-five, and include the habit: in the minor school they do not wear it, and the parents find cloaths; so that this is much dearer than many schools about London: the parents of Protestant children, therefore, have no excuse on the account of cheapness; and as to saying they do not meddle with their religion, which is the plausible bait to obtain Protestant children, I could give a striking instance to the contrary, which happened to fall within my own observation.

The situation of these Jesuits at Bruges is peculiarly unhappy for England; as the parents of the children who are educated there, instead of making excursions into the country in summer, go from London in the trading vessels, which are continually frequenting the Flemish coast, spend their time and money at Bruges, and return home, the greater number of them loaden with lace, &c. to smuggle, to pay their passage and expences.

At Louvain the Irish and English share the university; the Irish, in particular, have very large and extensive colleges: they educate priests and physicians to export to Ireland, but no Protestant boys are there.

It is certain that the whole disaffected party on this side the water have been in a constant state of exultation and gaiety ever since a certain Northern N—— had any share in the administration of public affairs in England; and they were more particularly active in sending over their emissaries in the springs and summers of 1764 and 1765. It is almost incredible what numbers of priests in disguise went over at those periods from Calais, Dunkirk, and Ostend. Most of the titular bishops passed over, in particular the Bishop of London, who was treated by the English on this side the water with peculiar respect. It was remarked to them, that it was to be feared such a number of Jesuits had retired to England that offence would be taken at it. The answer was, their friends and patrons were too wise to molest them; that they had carried money with them, and placed it in the English funds; and



and that the T—— of E—— wanted recruiting too much for them to regard through whose hands property was brought into the nation.

Much about the same periods vast quantities of popish books, prints, pictures, and other such holy lumber, were sent over; together with several complete sets of French prints of the house, *called*, of Stuart.

Since the change of the administration, they seem quite dejected; and since the bustle that has been made in London about private mass-houses, the priests have come back, like herrings, in shoals. I hope, by this circumstance, among others, that the present administration are the trusty right characters we have always imagined them to be.

If they did but know what a spirit of intolerance, of oppression, and of the rankest bigotry and enthusiasm reigns throughout the queen of Hungary's dominions in Flanders, surely they would make use of reprisals. No Protestant can obtain a settlement in that country; nor even baptize, much less educate a child in his own way. We humbled France, we humbled Spain—might have for ever! but we left unpunished that ungrateful bigot, whose deputies in Flanders will hardly suffer an Englishman to breathe, and who have oppressed the British commerce to such a degree that it must be totally lost in a short time. Yet we conquered that country for her!

It is to be hoped, that some method will be taken at home, to prevent all persons going into and out of the kingdom as they please, without the least notice or examination; otherwise popery must flourish in England.

The popish party have depended much on the unsettled roving disposition of the people of England, both with respect to their political and religious tenets. They boast much of the increase of the Methodists, and talk of that sect with rapture; while they enlarge on the negligence and profligate manners of the clergy of the Church of England. How far the Methodists and Papists stand connected in principles I know not; but I believe it is beyond a doubt that they are in constant correspondence with each other.

The young Pretender, by the best informations I could procure, which indeed vary, and are difficult to be relied on, retired to Avignon, after his disgrace of being arrested in this city, and stayed there a few months. He then went to Liege, where he lived some time in a very private manner, and took the title of *Baron de Montgomerie*. How long he lived thus, or what private excursions he made into other countries, I know not. But about the year 1757 he settled at Bouillon, where he continued till the time of his departure for Rome, on account of the death of his father.

He was privately visited by several persons from England in the summers of 1764, 1765.

His person is tall, and rather lusty. His complexion has a redness in it not unlike the effects of drinking. He has a complaint in his legs, which obliges him to wear a kind of half-boots.

It has generally been reported, that he was totally imbecile; that he gives himself up to drinking, and that he has a secret tendency to the Protestant religion; all which circumstances are notoriously false.

He is pusillanimous to an incredible degree ; and it is now well known here too, as in Scotland and England, that even at the battle of Culloden he withdrew before the rebel-army was broken : But as to his love of drinking, or any acts which denote him to be turned foolish ; these reports owe their origin to some frantick tricks he played on his mistress leaving him, and either really, or as he imagined, secreting herself in a convent at Bouillon. It is certain that he fired a pistol toward the convent, a ball from which passed through one of the windows of it, and wounded a nun in the shoulder. At that time he likewise addicted himself to drinking, in the first heats of his fury for the elopement of that mistress, a French lady of distinction. But this incident happened several years ago ; and he has lately always appeared calm and composed, talked very rationally, and read much, and been fond of music.

As to his religion, there is not a greater bigot upon earth. He has his bottle for Holy Water at his bed's head ; he never mounts a horse, or goes out on a shooting party, but he crosses himself many times ; and is strongly attached to the grossest fooleries of the Romish religion.

Many of his friends declare, that he was so exasperated by his arrest, and the breaking open his house here, from whence a letter was said to be carried off, written by the French King, promising him perpetual protection and a princely revenue, that he never will enter into any measures proposed to him by that monarch.

By the accounts just arrived here from Rome, I have learnt the further following particulars concerning him and his family.

On the death of the old gentleman, the cardinal his son wrote a letter to the Pope, to acquaint him with that event, and to request his protection for his brother. This letter was accompanied by a memorial. A congregation of cardinals was convened to deliberate on those matters. A public funeral was resolved on, and much superfluous pageantry appeared in it. Yet no cannons were permitted to be drawn in the procession, nor to be fired on the occasion. As soon as the body was removed from the palace of the Santi Apostoli [the Pretender's palace] the sentry boxes were taken away, and the guard room shut up, by order of the secretary of state ; and not long after the arms of England were taken down from it, by a second order.

In regard to the question, whether the title of the father should be given to the son, it was resolved in the negative.

Things being in this situation, it was imagined the son would not proceed to Rome ; and Urbino was proposed, and approved by the cardinal his brother, as a place of residence for him, and an express dispatched to meet him in his route, and apprize him of these circumstances. That person met him a few posts on this side Florence ; yet on he went, under the title of *Count Douglas*, and arrived at Rome very unexpectedly.

His immediate declaration there was, that he would receive none but those who should give him his father's title. On the first days after his arrival a few persons of different ranks visited him, which being known a severe reprimand was sent them; and express orders issued, that no person should presume to give him that title. He then resolved to quit Rome. But that resolution held only a few days, as is said, from the difficulty of knowing what place to retire to; and how the matter will end is extremely uncertain, though, it is probable, by his fixing on some place northward, where he can receive easily the visits and contributions of his party, and from whence he can join them upon occasion.

Had he declared, when the cardinal found he could not be acknowledged, that he desired to be in private; all ranks would then have received him with decency, and he would not have suffered the mortifications which he hath since undergone.

The Romans had conceived him to be a debauchee. But his behaviour at Rome has been perfectly sober and affable.

The Roman government, it seems, allowed the father twelve thousand crowns [about £.3000 sterling] a year, the reversion of which was settled on the cardinal for his life; and six thousand crowns more were usually given him, three at Christmas, and three at Villeggiatura, which sum has been refused to be allowed to the son.

The only riches left by the father are said to be one hundred thousand crowns; which are lodged in the Bank at Rome.

I am now going southward. When I shall have passed Lyons, I will send you some account of that city, and the other general places of education, with which our countrymen have connexion in this kingdom. Afterward, a like account for Switzerland; and Italy, unless I should get too much dissipated."



Extract from Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times,  
vol. II. p. 440.

“ [1706] W H E N the Session was near an end, great complaints were made in both Houses of the progress of popery in Lancashire, and of many insolencies committed there, both by the laity and priests of that religion. Upon this a bill was brought into the House of Commons, with clauses that would have rendered the Bill passed against Papists, in the end of the last reign, effectual. This alarmed all of that religion; so that they made very powerful, or, to follow the raillery of that time, very weighty intercessions with the considerable men of that house. The court looked on, and seemed indifferent in the matter; yet it was given out, that so severe a law would be very unreasonable, when we were in alliance with so many princes of that religion, and that it must lessen the force of the Queen's intercession in favour of the Protestants that lived in the dominions of those princes: the proceeding seemed rigorous, and not suited to the gentleness that the Christian Religion did so particularly recommend, and was contrary to the maxims of liberty of conscience and toleration, that were then in great vogue. It was answered, that the dependence of those of that religion on a foreign jurisdiction, and at present on a foreign Pretender to the crown, put them out of the case of other subjects, who might differ from the established Religion; since there seemed to be good reason to consider them as enemies, rather than as subjects. But the application was made in so effectual a manner that the bill was let fall: and though the Lords had made some steps toward such a bill, yet since they saw what fate it was likely to have in the House of Commons, instead of proceeding farther in it, they dismissed that matter with an address to the Queen, that she would give orders, both to the justices of peace and to the clergy, that a return might be made to the next Session of parliament of all the Papists in England.”

To the Printer of the St. James's Chronicle.

S I R,

AS the Roman Catholic clergy in all countries make a great merit of perverting ignorant and unwary Protestants, I beg leave, through your paper, to present to the public a notable renunciation of an ignorant apprentice to an English master of a ship, who, having deserted from his master, sheltered himself from his resentment amongst those holy fathers, who, to protect him, as the sailors humorously call it, *white-washed him*. You may depend upon it as a fact, being myself on the spot when it happened; it is as follows:

*The* A B J U R A T I O N.

I R——J——, son of R——J——, from Burlington, in the diocese of York, in England, at the nineteenth year of my age, personally appearing in judgement, and kneeling before you, vicar of the inquisitor general of the state of Genoa, having before my eyes the Holy Gospels, which I touch with my own hands, and knowing that nobody can be saved out of that Holy Catholic Faith which is held, preached, and taught, by the holy mother church, that is, the Catholic Apostolic Roman Church, whose head and chief pastor is, at present, his holiness Clement the Twelfth; and against which faith, I own, I am sorry I have grievously erred, because born of heretical parents, that is, Protestants of the Church of England, and being by them brought up and taught the errors and heresies of the impious sect of Protestants, I have held and believed them all, especially that there are only two sacraments in the church, that is, Baptism and the Lord's Supper; that in the Lord's Supper there is not really the true body and blood of JESUS CHRIST, but in the use of it only.

That the sacred images are not to be venerated; that the saints in heaven do not pray for us, and therefore that they ought not to be invoked by us; that the Pope is not the true vicar of CHRIST, nor the visible head of the church of GOD.

That sacramental confession, the mass and indulgencies, are mere inventions, and vain superstitions of the Roman Catholics.

That one may eat flesh every day indifferently, and without exception, and other heresies, and such like errors. But I being at present sure of the truth of the holy catholic faith, and likewise sure of the falsehood of the aforesaid sect, with a sincere heart and unfeigned faith, I abjure, curse, and detest all the aforesaid heresies, errors, and generally all and every other heresy, error, and sect, which contradicts the aforesaid holy church, and I swear that I never will believe nor assert the aforesaid or any other heresy, neither will I have familiarity or conversation in matters of the holy faith with heretics, or with persons that are suspected of heresies. I also swear and promise to fulfil and entirely perform all the penances that are, and shall be, imposed upon me by the holy office.

And

And in case I should transgress any of these promises and oaths (which God forbid) I oblige myself to undergo all the punishments and chastisements which are imposed, and published by the sacred canons, and other general and particular constitutions against such like transgressors, so may God assist me and these Holy Gospels, which I touch with my own hands.

I R—— J—— have abjured, sworn, promised, and obliged myself as above, and I have recited, word by word, the present paper of my abjuration, which, with my own hands, &c.

Jan. 7, 1766.

N° XLIX.

To the Printer of the St. James's Chronicle.

S I R,

I BEG the favour of you to insert the following extract from Dr. Burn's Ecclesiastical Law; and am,

Your humble servant,

CLERICUS.

The Form of Prayer for the 30th of January, and for the 29th of May, were of a different complexion in the reign of king Charles II. from what they are now. Of which the reason is said to have been this: The parliament, and other leading men, who called home King Charles II. (many of whom had been concerned in opposing his father's measures) would not be called traitors; and required that a distinction should be made between the commencement of the war, and the conclusion of it. They would not suffer the first opposition made to the measures of that unhappy prince to be styled rebellion, notwithstanding they disapproved of the abolition of the regal government which ensued.

And accordingly the offices for these two solemnities were drawn up without any reflection on the first authors, or promoters of the opposition; and in general breathe more a spirit of piety than of party, of humiliation than of revenge; and throughout are modest, grave, decent, sensible, and devout.

King James II. altered these forms; and king William did not venture to reduce them to their primitive state; and so they have continued with very little variation (though not upon the same prudential considerations) to this day.

Of the difference between the Form of Prayer which was first drawn up for this service, and used during the reign of King Charles II. and the Form which is now used, the following are striking Specimens.

*Office*



*Office of Charles II.**Title thereof, and Rubric.*

A Form of Prayer, with Thanksgiving, to be used yearly, upon the 29th day of May, being the day of his Majesty's birth, and happy return to his kingdoms.

*Collects.*

We yield thee praise and thanksgiving for our deliverance from those great and apparent dangers wherewith we were compassed.

O GOD, who by thy divine Providence and goodness didst this day first bring into the world, and didst this day also bring back and restore to us, and to his own just and undoubted rights, our most gracious Sovereign Lord thy Servant King Charles, preserve his life, and establish his throne, we beseech thee. Be unto him a helmet of salvation against the face of his enemies, and a strong tower of defence in the time of trouble! Let his reign be prosperous, and his days many! Let justice, truth, and holiness—let peace and love, and all christian virtues, flourish in his time! let his people serve him with honour and obedience! and let him so duly serve thee on earth, that he may hereafter everlastingly reign with thee in heaven, through JESUS CHRIST our LORD! *Amen.*

O LORD our GOD, who upholdest and governest all things in heaven and earth, receive our humble prayers, with our thanksgivings, for our Sovereign Lord Charles, set over us by thy Grace and Providence to be our king; and so, together with him, bless the whole royal family with the dew of thy heavenly spirit; that they, ever trusting in thy goodness, protected by thy power, and crowned with thy gracious and endless favour, may continue before thee in health, peace, joy, and honour, a long and happy life upon earth, and after death obtain everlasting life and glory in the kingdom of heaven, &c.

*Office of James II. now in use, as specially authorised by an Order dated at St. James's, Oct. 7, 1761, signed, BUTE.*

*Title thereof, and Rubric.*

A Form of Prayer, with Thanksgiving to ALMIGHTY GOD, for having put an end to the great rebellion, by the restitution of the king and royal family, and the Restoration of the government after many years interruption; which unspeakable mercies were wonderfully completed upon the 29th of May, in the year 1660. And, in memory thereof, that day in every year is by act of Parliament appointed to be for ever kept holy.

The act of parliament for the observation of this day shall be read publicly in all churches on the LORD'S-day next before; and the notice be given for the due observation of the said day.

*Collects.*

*Collects.*

We yield thee praise and thanksgiving for the wonderful deliverance of these kingdoms from the great rebellion, and all the miseries and oppressions consequent thereupon, under which they had so long groaned. We yield thee thanks for our deliverance from the unnatural rebellion, usurpation, and tyranny, of ungodly and cruel men.

ALMIGHTY GOD, and heavenly Father, who, of thine infinite and unspeakable goodness towards us, didst in a most extraordinary and wonderful manner disappoint and overthrow the wicked designs of those traitorous, heady, and high-minded men, who, under pretence of religion, and thy most holy name, had contrived, and well-nigh effected the utter ruin and destruction of this church and kingdom; as we do this day most heartily and devoutly adore and magnify thy glorious name for this thine infinite goodness already vouchsafed to us; so do we most humbly beseech thee to continue thy grace and favour towards us, that no such dismal calamity may ever again fall upon us. Infatuate and defeat all the secret councils of deceitful and wicked men against us. Abate their pride, assuage their malice, and confound their devices. Strengthen the hands of our now most gracious Sovereign, and all that are put in authority under him, with judgement and justice, to cut off all such workers of iniquity, as turn religion into rebellion, and faith into faction; that they may never again prevail against us, nor triumph in the ruin of the monarchy and thy church among us. Protect and defend our Sovereign Lord the King, with the whole Royal Family, from all treasons and conspiracies. Be unto him an helmet of salvation, and a strong tower of defence against the face of all his enemies: clothe them with shame and confusion; but upon himself and his posterity let the crown for ever flourish! So we thy people, and the sheep of thy pasture, will give thee thanks for ever, &c.

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N<sup>o</sup> L.

To the Printer of the St. James's Chronicle.

S I R,

AS I am a member of the church of England, I cannot help being mortified when I meet with any thing (as I often do) to her disadvantage in print. But though such things disturb me, my reason and conscience will not allow me to think that most of those things are not just and true; nay, I even think it undeniable, that if the church were to be reformed according to some hints thrown out by those who are supposed to be none of her friends, she would be not only more defensible upon the whole, but would come much nearer to the original idea of a truly Christian church. However, I am not half so much provoked at seeing her nakedness uncovered, in the essays abovementioned, as to see her so miserably defended by those who undertake to answer them, and who seem to me to have

no other arms (at least to make use of no other) than the pointless and edgeless ones which have been so often battered and blunted in the service of popery. Nothing, for example, can be more absurd than to mix, as most of those defenders do, the cause of the Stuarts with the cause of the Church of England. It may be affirmed, with great truth, that the Church of England never had worse enemies than the princes of that family. The two first of them, under the pretence of taking her into their protection, made her appear, in the eyes of all other protestant churches, as an abettor of almost as cruel persecutions as were ever practised by the church of Rome, for which church, perhaps, both of them, at the bottom, had at least as much respect as for the church of England. It was owing to the Stuarts that the church of England professed and avowed the doctrine of the absolute power of kings, of unlimited passive obedience, and of the unpardonable sin of Resistance; doctrines which, to her great shame and scandal, she was obliged to recant, when the necessity of her affairs forced her to look after her own preservation; and when her free-born sons would otherwise have had no option before them, but either the absolute destruction of their liberties, properties, and personal safety, or the guilt of *dammable* rebellion. Nothing need be said of the friendship of the two succeeding Stuarts, Charles II. and James II. for the church of England, but that they were both papists, and made the church of England their dupe, in their attempts to ruin the Protestant interest. With these facts and circumstances in view, I own, that as a Church-of-England-Man, I can never think of these same Stuarts without horror and detestation, and cannot help pitying from my heart the weakness of my venerable, and, as it should seem, superannuated, Mother, that now, in her old age, and when she is flourishing under the protection of a race of illustrious princes, who have ever been so attentive to her *true* honour and interest, she should retain, among the rest of her forms, two such reproachful services as those for the 30th of January, and the 29th of May. Concerning the first of these, I shall say no more, after so much has been already said on the subject, than that, if I could *cordially* join in it, I could, with as little scruple of conscience, say an *Ora pro nobis* upon my knees before the picture of St. Charles the Martyr. The other service, indeed, is not quite so indecent in its expressions, but is equally exceptionable on other accounts, as importing a most strange inconsistency between the principles and the practice of the subjects of the present Royal Family on the throne. I shall explain my meaning, Mr. Baldwin, by a little anecdote, which, I apprehend, may have escaped the notice of the major part of your readers. When, upon the restoration of king Charles II. this office of thanksgiving was first composed, the service, upon the whole, was not unsuitable to the reasonable sentiments of those who thought monarchy preferable to the various fluctuating systems which had prevailed for some years before. The running title of the office then was, *The King's Birth and Return*. That, it seems, was precisely the object of public Thanksgiving. For though the Duke of York returned with the King, yet all the world knew he was a papist, and it was sufficiently understood, by the compilers of the office, that the people of England would not think themselves bound to thank God for the return of a prince among them, whose religious and political principles were at utter enmity



enmity with their rights and liberties. On the other hand, it was not known that Charles was a papist as well as James, and there might be good hope that he would be a righteous king, and his restoration prove a blessing to his people. But, upon king Charles's decease, king James thought proper to have the service altered, and public thanks given for the return of the royal family, as well as of the late King. And then likewise was the running title altered to *The Restoration of the Royal Family*. And thus both the service and the title stand in our Common-Prayer-Books to this hour. Methinks it would not be an impertinent question to ask, what reason the good people of England can have in the year 1766 to give God thanks for the Restoration of a King an hundred years ago, who, with his good will, would have delivered up our forefathers, bound hand and foot, to France, for the valuable consideration of a pension—of a King, who, by his profligate example, did all he could to corrupt the morals of his people—of a King, who occasionally made a jest of all religion; who did what in him lay to ruin public credit at home and abroad, who basely dissembled the real principles of the religion he privately espoused, and who having, under the mask of a Protestant, done all he durst for the service of popery for twenty-four years, died in the end a superstitious devotee to the idolatrous church of Rome? And, if these are not impertinent questions, which of our venerable pastors will undertake to satisfy the man who should ask what reason have the loyal subjects of King George III. to commemorate, by a solemn Religious Thanksgiving, the return of a bigotted popish Prince, whom our virtuous protestant ancestors found it necessary to dethrone, for his acts of tyranny against the laws and liberties of this free country?—For the restoration of a Prince whose posterity, or, if you please, whose *Royal Family*, are for ever excluded from the government of these kingdoms, on account of their bearing, by principle, the same rancorous malice to the public liberty of Great Britain, that their ill-starred father did? What a delicious contrast is this to our thanksgivings for the Revolution on the Fifth of November, and for the successive commemorations of the accession of three gracious and good princes of the House of Hanover, Fathers of their people, and fast Friends to, and Protectors of, the civil and religious liberties of this happy country? Does our Liturgic Service want no reformation in this article? Can an absurd inconsistency like this be defended, or varnished, by the most dextrous clerical quibbler of the establishment? No—I choose not to say what I think upon the occasion in terms which so strange a solecism, both in religion and politics, calls for. Let facts speak for themselves. Whence have we had, within these very few years, so much more attention paid to the 29th of May, than for several years before? Whence so much gilded oak worn on that festival for two years by past, with inscriptions plainly pointing the wishes of the wearer to another restoration? If these things are authorised, or encouraged, by the real principles of the episcopal church of England, I care not if I turn presbyterian to-morrow, nor should I be sorry if every Protestant in Great Britain would follow my example. But I trust, matters are not yet come to that pass. Had this letter appeared in your Chronicle the last year about this time, I could not have answered for what might have happened to you for printing it, or to me for writing it. But we have now the satis-

faction of being quite safe under an administration, who have as warm hearts towards the welfare of our Protestant government as either of us; and from whom every loyal subject of our gracious and amiable king has not only nothing to fear for publishing memorials of this kind, but much to hope that due attention will be paid to them, and proper measures taken, in due time, (whoever may oppose them) to deliver our church and constitution from the reproach of so glaring and opprobrious an incongruity. I am,

S I R,

May 27, 1766.

Your's, &c.

THE COUNTRY CURATE OF JANUARY THE FIRST.

N° LI.

For the London Chronicle.

Plan for preventing the growth of popery in England \*.

Humbly proposed to public consideration.

THE agents of Rome-papal have taken unwearied pains to subvert the protestant system ever since the Reformation. Several critical conjunctures have been very alarming to the sons of liberty. At this day the papist is daring enough to speak reproachfully of the Reformation †. And to boast openly of his numerous perversions of our people. Nor does he scruple to offer clouds of incense to a proscribed, pusillanimous, and probably spurious Pretender to the British crown.

To prevent further mischief, with lenity,

Let all penal laws now in force against papists be repealed; and no oath of allegiance be required of them.

Let papists be registered, and registers kept in every city, town, and parish.—The registers be taken under the direction of the civil magistrates in the several counties; transmitted to the Archbishops and Bishops; and delivered by them to parliament once a year for in-

\* See two valuable tracts, written by that faithful eminent divine the late Dr. Arthur Ashley Sykes, first published in the year 1746, during the rebellion, and now sold by T. Cadell, in the Strand.

They are titled,

“ An enquiry how far papists ought to be treated as good subjects; and how far they are chargeable with the tenets commonly imputed to them.”

“ The reasonableness of mending and executing the laws against papists; humbly offered to the consideration of all that have a regard for the dignity of our Sovereign and the liberty of Great Britain.”

† See, among other publications, “ A Free examination of the common methods employed to prevent the growth of popery.”

specimen,

specification, with such observations as in their faithfulness and wisdom shall seem meet : which registers and observations to be afterwards printed for information of the public.

All landed estates belonging to papists be likewise registered.

Popish houses for public worship be licensed by the justices in quarter-session ; and in such numbers as they shall see reasonable : and no worshipping assemblies permitted but in those licensed houses.

Officiating popish priests be licensed, and constantly wear some badge or habit to distinguish them.

Unlicensed priests not be permitted to reside within the kingdom.

No foreign minister be allowed an open chapel—only two domestic priests or chaplains for an ambassador, and one to every other minister—the chapels and chaplains of those ministers be registered.

No rites nor ceremonies of the popish religion be suffered without doors.

A person convicted of perverting a Protestant to Popery, abject, intolerant Popery, be liable to the same punishment as those other traitors who decoy away the King's subjects into foreign service.

A Protestant marrying a Papist forfeit all property to the next Protestant heir.

A Protestant sending his child, illiberally, to any popish school or seminary of education, at home or abroad, be disqualified from all offices of honor and emolument, and rendered incapable of any testamentary inheritance.—A papist being concerned in any school or seminary of education for Protestants, as director, usher, or teacher, be pilloried.

Whoever educates the child of a Protestant in popish principles, be deemed a traitor.

Papists not be allowed to send their children abroad for education.

All schools and seminaries for education of the children of papists be licensed—Their teachers, male or female, registered.

No papist depart the kingdom without leave.

The officers of the public revenue on the river Thames, and on the sea-coast, and the masters of the public packet-boats, to watch diligently all matters concerning popery ; on pain of dismissal from their places, for default in that respect.

Every papist to give security for his peaceable behaviour to the government, and also to deliver his heir into its custody, when required.

No papist to be allowed other fire arms or weapons than those permitted by the civil magistrate.

The property of all papists, real or personal, at their decease, to be equally divided, share and share alike, among their children or collateral heirs, peers excepted ; in which case, ten thousand pounds a year to be reserved to the male heir of a duke, and six thousand to that of every other peer, where the estate will admit of it.

The clergy of the Church of England to reside upon their livings.

The universities to present to all livings, without exception, of which papists are the patrons.

A naturalization act to pass in favour of all foreign Protestants.



No papist to enjoy any place of honour, profit, or trust under the government.

The laws relating to popery to be comprized in one act of parliament, and that act printed four times a year in the public papers, and read in all churches and chapels, and protestant-dissenting meeting-houses throughout the kingdom.

It is apprehended, that our Protestant free government, in thus seeking only its own safety, will avoid every unreasonable and oppressive measure; and that the papist will hereby find every civil grievance of which he now complains removed, and be liable to no penalty but what he shall bring voluntarily upon himself.

Sept. 24, 1768.

A LOVER OF HIS KING  
AND COUNTRY.

Nº LII.

Advice to a young Painter at Rome, from London.

Aug. 23, 1753.

YOUR intention of staying yet a couple of years, or more, abroad, is greatly commendable; for undoubtedly Italian, and especially Roman air, when properly imbibed, is of all others the most pure and most nourishing to an artist. By this stay you will have the finest opportunity of studying with advantage, and making acquaintances with many of our principal nobility and gentry who may applaud and reward those studies hereafter. But beware, dear Sir, of even the kindnesses of our good-natured, nay discerning, countrymen; and remember that employment from them or any one at Rome beyond a maintenance is only present ease and future mediocrity. I would be understood. I say employment in the common way. And as I certainly most sincerely wish your advancement and perfection in your profession, and know that, like the thorough-bred generous courser, you are springing upon the whip, so I shall take the liberty to suggest to you certain things as general rules to observe; which rules do not proceed from vanity or an idea of superior abilities, but simply from a plain honest heart, which means well towards you, and believes that they may serve in a degree to assist and enforce your own sentiments in like manner as the bye-stander of smaller judgment influences and determines, at times, the gamester who plays of greater reach and understanding.

What rules I would suggest are as follows; to wit,

To design and paint, after nature, something every day, be it ever so little, without intermission.

To take of all subjects at times, even those the most contrary to the natural genius; but to apply particularly to those which are the most noble and graceful.

To have always one painting in hand bigger, or at least as big, as the life, as a copy from the best masters.

To

To have likewise another painting always in hand of your own composition where the subject is complicated, to stretch the invention.

To shew all your performances to all the different artists possible, be they friends or be they foes, thereby, by discourse or inferences, to get at truth.

To compare your works, as they are finished, with those of the old masters, where there is a connection of subject or manner, be it ever so mortifying at first.

To read the best poets for ideas, and the best writers of the lives of celebrated artists for judgment.

To study fitness, or, in other words, propriety.

To labor a difficulty long before it is given up.

To copy in your own works no man's figures, but many people's turn of thinking.

To keep in mind, that though excellence has been possessed of few, yet that it is assuredly attainable by many through reflection and labor; and that when it is attained it affords the highest satisfaction and content of mind in the present to the owner, and conveys his memory revered and honoured to posterity among the heroes who have loved, and have been useful to mankind. More, much more, might be added, but here I shall stop, and I hope to stand excused by you from the goodness of my motive.

To the same young Painter.

London, January, 1754.

PERHAPS application does more than genius; as might, I think, be proved, if necessary, both by the moderns and antients.

Another means to ability and frankness is treating a variety of subjects, though not immediately concurring to a painter's principal scheme; and in this light I was greatly pleased to observe, that in your late retreat to La Riccia you had begun a piece of landscape.

A third is, when upon a subject, to consider how the chastest, ablest masters would probably have treated it had they been to have executed it.

If you go into the country this summer, and should not be better employed in such case, you may execute for me the three following paintings; to wit, one a landscape, where trees, a few cattle, and a piece of irregular still transparent water, make the principal objects; with a clear sky above. Another, where a river appears as in motion, with a bridge over it, a building on one side of it; both bridge and building being of regular architecture, and with a clouded sky, terminating in a storm. A third, a view of a sea-port, the water calm, with naval shipping, some houses, and the country appearing at a distance to be painted from the real objects themselves. To wait for them your own time.

N° LIII.

Saggio sopra l'Opera in Musica.

1763.

A Guglielmo Pitt,  
Francesco Algarotti.

S' E M B R E R A ad alcuni affai strano, che à voi, Uomo immortale, che nella vostra nazione sapeste riaccendere il nativo valore, sapeste provvedere per sempre alla sua difesa, e la faceste in un medesimo anno trionfare nelle quattro parti del mondo, venga intitolato un scritto, ché ragiona di poesia, di musica, di cosa di teatro. Ma pare che ignorino costoro, come il restitutore dell' Inghilterra, l'amico del grand Frederigo sa ancora munire il suo ozio cò presidi delle lettere, e come quella sua vittoriosa eloquenza, colla quale egli tuona in senato, non é meno l' effetto della elevatezza del suo animo, che dello studio da lui posto nei Tulli, e nei Demosteni antecessori suoi. Possa solamente questo mio scritto esser da tanto, che, trovi anch' esso un luogo nell' ozio erudito di un tel Uomo, giunga ad ottenne il suffragio di colui, che né piu alti uffizi dello stato ha meritato l'ammirazione e l'applauso di tutta Europa.

Pisa, 13 Decem. 1762.

Saggio sopra la Pittura.

Dedicated to the Society for promoting Arts. 1763.

On the 24th of June died at Pisa

Count Algarotti, Chamberlain to the King of Prussia, Fellow of the Royal and Antiquary Societies of London, and of the Society for promoting Arts and Commerce. One of the most accomplished beneficent gentlemen in Europe, as his works and life have fully proved.

Saggio sopra l'Accademia di Francia che é in Roma. 1763.

Al Signor TOMMASO HOLLIS,  
Membro della Societa Reale, E della Societa degli Antiquarj.

(The only Dedication, and this against his consent and knowledge.)

FRANCESCO ALGAROTTI,

QUANTO differente sia, nello fatto della pittura, dell' architettura e della statuaria, la maniera del pensare di buona parte de' Francesi da quella degl' Inglese, si potrà anche comprendere, valoroso Signor mio, dal presente Saggio, che io amantissimo delle buone arti intitulo a voi fautore e protettore di esse. Credono i Francesi, che sotto il felice loro cielo sia  
nata



nata e cresciuta ogn' cosa bella, e quasi che s'imino perduta opera e vana il cercare più là. Gl'Inglese al contrario, per accrescere il comune patrimonio delle arti, e delle scienze, cercano ogni più remoto angolo del globo: E non contenti di aver visitato gli ultimi confini dell' Europa, per raccogliere le preziose reliquie dell' antichità, l'Asia Minore, e l'Egitto, hanno penetrato il più addentro che è stato possibile nell'imperio della Cina affine di recarne nuove ricchezze anche nell' arte dello edificar le case, e del piantare i giardini. Quello che facevano i Romani in ordine ai modi di combattere e alle armi, che cambiavano assai sovente con quelle delle nazioni da esso loro vinte, e mescolavano colle proprie; quel medesimo fanno ora gl' Inglese colle arti, e colle scienze delle Nazioni, le quali hanno vinte in certa maniera col traffico.

E ben si può dire, che quanto lungi spirano i venti, altrettanto si estende il loro potere, e la nobile loro curiosità. Ogni ragione d'arti, sieno utili o aggradevoli alla società civile, che fioriscono quale in questa, quale in quell' altra parte del mondo, le ha raccolte tutte nel suo seno la nuova Accademia Inglese fondata in questi ultimi tempi ad onore del Secolo, e a beneficio del genere umano. Quelle efficacemente ella protegge, quelle nutrice del continuo, quelle con premj veramente regj promove ed eccita a metter frutti, e fiori; onde ha già ricevuto nuovi comodi, e nuovi ornamenti il bel paese, che è il seggio maggiore della industria e della libertà. In cotal guisa esso diviene l'emporio, e il centro del mondo. Ed ora si scorgerà verificarsi più che mai, che incominciando dalla teoria delle comete, e venendo alla costruzione dello aratolo, noi siamo quasi che di ogni cosa debitori alla rettitudine, ed alla instancabilità del pensare de' vostri compatrioti. A tal nobile Accademia, a cui con tanto onore hanno novellamente degnato di ascrivermi, vorrei pure in qualche modo esser utile anch' io. Mi suggerite voi i mezzi,

Se la preghiera mia non è superba,

di ottenere un così bel fine. In tanto io per me non ci veggio miglior via, che sopra le buone arti scriver cosa degna, se è possibile, della approvazione vostra, valoroso Signor mio, il quale siete vita ed anima di quell'Accademia, pieno di pubblico spirito, e niun' altra cosa volgente in cuore, che la maggior gloria della patria vostra, e il maggior bene degli uomini.

Pisa, 2 febbrajo, 1763.

## The Prince of Biscari.

Mr. Young, son of Sir William Young, in a journal he published in 1772, of an excursion over Sicily and Italy—speaking of the polite society of the inferior towns, consisting of officers and ruined nobles—here and there, indeed you will find a man, like the *Prince of Biscari*, whom a just sense of the irretrievable fortune of his order and country hath given up to arts, literature, and all the tastes of a refined retirement.

The Prince lives at Catanea, and has a general museum, free and open to every one; of which the collection of Etruscan vases is very fine, and has discovered and collected the remains of the ruins of Catanea and Syracuse. There is a description of his museum by abbate Sestini of Florence. 1776.

## N° LV.

THOMAS HOLLIS, an Englishman, an assertor of Liberty at all times, a well-wisher to all ingenuous pursuits, is desirous of presenting a case of mathematical drawing instruments to Cavalier John Baptist Piranesi, his friend.

London, Sept. 1, 1769.

Roma, 4 Marzo, 1770.

FU con Piacere, o Signore, il vostro dono ammirato inviatomi per mezzo del Sig. Tommaso Jenkins: dopo che svitato fu il cassetto in presenza di huomini liberi e nell'esercizio ancora delle arti liberali, quali meco insieme ad una voce dissero: viva il Sig.<sup>r</sup> Hollis, viva gli Inglesi, e le arti liberali in Inghilterra, e gli amatori che le incoraggiscono cosicché questi ve ne ringraziano, come se per esse fosse, il dono a me destinato; essendo per anch'essi partecipi degli stessi doni, per aver precorso con il merito loro il paese ove non v'è Tirannide: ma che mediante i buoni cittadini liberi per mezzo delle virtuose loro fatiche, si fanno partecipi de' beni della vita. Da tutti ammirata la preziosità del dono in tutte le sue parti, ne fu applaudita la simmetrica sua disposizione. Furono poi lette o Sig.<sup>r</sup> le vostre lettere per le quali nel nostro libero essere viè più ci confermiamo: mentre esercitiamo libere professioni; e del peso grande di poche parole ci sembro in qual punto essere posti nel centro della Liberta.

Rendovi grazie, o Sig.<sup>r</sup> si de' passati, che del presente dono. Viva dunque il Sig.<sup>r</sup> Hollis vero cittadino del mondo libero, e viva in fine il Sig.<sup>r</sup> Hollis che avendo presentato alla Società degl'Antiquarij di Londra, il mio Libro de' Camini, ho giusto motivo di rendergli le dovute grazie.

Il mio coraggio viè più ò Sig.<sup>r</sup> a proseguire lo studio delle arti liberali,

State sano.

D. V. S. Ill.<sup>me</sup>.

Umillimo ed obbedientissimo fervitore,

GIO BATTISTA PIRANESI.  
N° LVI.

N° LVI.

## To the Printer of the London Chronicle.

S I R,

London, June 4, 1768.

THE following notification, in French, from Petersburg, giving advice of books (by way of present) received in that city, from London, was lately transmitted hither; with a desire that the said notification might be printed, both in English and French, in your useful Chronicle; for the satisfaction of the persons who were so obliging as to send those presents from hence. I am,

S I R,

Your most humble servant,

I. L.

*De St. PETERBOURG.*

UN exemplaire des *Letters of John Locke, concerning Toleration*, & un de la nouvelle Edition de la *Grammatica Anglica Wallisi*, reliés en maroquin, & adressés de Londres par un citoyen du monde, à la bibliothèque de l'Academie Imperiale des Sciences de St. Peterbourg, (comme aussi un exemplaire de ladite Gramaire adressé à l'Université de Ruiscau :) vient de decouvrir ici à la douane; et de remettre aux endroits de leur destination, le Conseiller d'Etat Mr. de Stehlin, Membre et Secretaire perpetuel de l'Academie Imperiale des Sciences.

*From St. PETERSBURG.*

A Copy of the *Letters of John Locke concerning Toleration*; and one of the new Edition of Dr. Wallis's *English Grammar*, bound in Turkey; and directed, from London, by a Citizen of the World, to the Library of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Peterburg, (as also a Copy of the said Grammar, addressed to the university of Ruiscau) has been received at the Custom-house here, and sent as directed. Signed Mr. de Stehlin, Counsellor of State, Member and perpetual Secretary to the Imperial Academy of Sciences.

London, June 8, 1768.

A Citizen of the World, returns thanks to M. de Stehlin, Counsellor of State, Member and perpetual Secretary of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, and to I. L. for their good offices.



## Character of the late Dr. Brown, Vicar of Newcastle.

[First published in the St. James's Chronicle.]

To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

S I R,

THERE is a tribute of *candid Report* due to the memory of men of genius and learning, how unfortunate so ever they may have been in the application of their talents, or however they may have fallen short of that approbation, which the public has given to men of much inferior abilities, at the same time that it hath been denied to *them*. I would endeavour to apply this reflection to the case of the unhappy *Leucophæus*, who has just finished his mortal course, in a way which some people may think has fully justified the world in the unfavourable sentiments that were so generally entertained of his literary conduct. *Leucophæus* is now out of the reach of every man's resentment, as well as of every man's envy; and I would willingly hope that a few dispassionate reflections upon his fortunes and his fate, from a person who knew something of him at different times of his life, may not be offensive to those who have candor enough to make the requisite allowances for errors and frailties, which, as they were not peculiar to him, so neither did they exceed in measure or malignity, errors and frailties, which have been excused in others who had but a small portion of his merit to qualify them. Merit he certainly had, and merit will be allowed him by the capable readers even of such of his writings as convey the most striking idea of the author's mental infirmities.

Few men have given earlier proofs of capacity and erudition than *Leucophæus*. His rising genius was marked and distinguished by the *tendered* patronage of some who had gained, and of others who thought they were gaining the summit of fame in the republic of letters. With certain of the latter *Leucophæus* entered into the most intimate connection, upon the assurance of being conducted, in virtue of that alliance, to as much reputation, and as great a proportion of emolument as he had reason to look for. A fatal step! which he never afterwards could retrieve, when he most desired it. Had he preserved his independency, he had preserved his probity and honour; but he had pars, and he had ambition. The former might have eclipsed a jealous competition for fame; the latter laid him open to practices proper to prevent it. No arts or allurements were omitted to attach him to a party, which easily found the means to consign him to contempt the moment it was suspected that he was uneasy in his bonds, and that he was meditating expedients to break them.

An intimate friend spent a long evening with him, when he was *literally* on the road to his ruin; that is to say, when he was going to confirm and cultivate the alliance above-mentioned. *Leucophæus's* prospects were then talked over. He was warned to be aware of consequences;

consequences; but the connection was formed, and must be adhered to; and they who had heard *Leucophæus* harangue on that occasion, concerning the world with which he was going to engage, and concerning what would become him in his commerce with it, would have sworn that nothing could surprize his prudence, nothing pervert his integrity.

Splendid and decorated *Guide Posts*, promising straight and easy roads, often stand at the head of dirty, crooked lanes. These were pointed out to *Leucophæus* at his first setting forwards. He soon found them fallacious indexes: He had the satisfaction, however, to have *one* example immediately before him, that shewed how well it might be worth the while of an *Aspirant* to *turn* and *wind* about, and even to be a little *bemired*, in order to come at a comfortable lodging, clean linen, and a complete change of raiment.

But these were blessings which were not intended for *Leucophæus*. The tempter could have given him the clue, which would have led his pupil through all difficulties; but that might have spoiled his own game. He contented himself therefore with escorting *Leucophæus* to the thickest of the filth, and there he fairly left him to the scorn and derision of lookers on; calmly observing, with a shrug, "If the man *will* expose himself who can help it."

It happened, however, that out of this piteous condition *Leucophæus* emerged, and with that vigor as in a great measure to recover his estimation. And here the tempter *saw* it necessary to strike in again. A little coaxing procured an act of oblivion for one of the cruelest insults that could be offered to an ingenuous mind; and to shew the sincerity of his reconciliation, the first thing *Leucophæus* did was to disfigure one of his capital performances, by copying the ungracious manner of the *grand exemplar*.

At what period *Leucophæus* lost himself with the public every one knows. At the same instant was he deserted by the *alliance*, and so apprehensive were they lest he should once more find such encouragement for his powers as might throw their importance into obscurity, that some pains were taken to have *one* door of preferment shut against him, even where the recommendation of the *alliance* would have been of no service to him, had it been kept open. But they succeeded; and in that success added one more to the many instances upon record of the power and proclivity of many a man to do mischief, where he has neither the power nor inclination to do good. Certain fragments in the last thing *Leucophæus* committed to the press, throw some faint light upon this part of his history.

*Leucophæus* now found himself in a wide world at enmity with him on every side. What was he to do? Should he return to the paths of truth and probity, to which he had been so long a stranger? Alas! his *credit*, his *weight* was gone. His *early* connections had left a stain upon his character, which the after-conduct of an angel could hardly have discharged from the minds of honest men. It appeared, by some very remarkable evidence, that he was suspected to be the scout of the *alliance*, even to the very last. It has since appeared, that his most zealous remonstrances against the imputation could not perfectly clear him of that suspicion. What remained then for him, but to do——what numbers (perhaps a majority) of his brethren had done before him——what his original patrons and conductors were then doing——what the dextrous part of mankind generally find their account in doing.—In one

word, he *temporized*, but with this difference from the calmer speculators of the ground before them—he made his evolutions too quick and visible. Unhappily for him, the changes in the upper regions were frequent, sudden, and unforeseen. To these he accommodated himself without hesitation, and it was impossible that so immediate and so nimble transitions in so conspicuous a character should not give the cue to the public to mark *him*, rather than an hundred others who really *temporized* no less than he, but who had the discretion not to notify it upon paper, or (if that was unavoidable in an occasional sermon or so) who had the art to balance so cleverly as to leave matters in that sort of see-saw way which affords the public no clear indications of their *present* attachments. Common fame says that the last effort of *Leucophaeus's* genius was a panegyric on the E— of C——m. This, probably, the sad catastrophe of the author broke off abruptly; otherwise the public had been favoured with it ere this. What the brotherhood in general think of the noble E—l, we shall hardly be informed in *print* before the end of January. Such is the difference between *Impetuosity* and *Discretion*, in committing the same sin.

The last province allotted to *Leucophaeus* was of a sort which implied a civil dismissal from all his expectations at home. It is said to have been planned in a consultation of casuists, upon the same considerations which induce physicians to send their patients to Bath, when they chuse not to be longer troubled with their hypochondriacal complaints in town. *Leucophaeus* was evidently, contemptuously, unaccountably neglected; and the public was eternally asking, *Why?* He was a *temporizer*. What then? is not *temporizing* the cardinal virtue of the age? Is it not almost the *singular merit* of that class of men to which *Leucophaeus* belonged? To whomsoever his trimming character was obnoxious, it should not have been so to those who denounce utter exclusion against all who are inflexibly tenacious of unpolite truths. Is an obsequious blockhead a greater credit to the cause he espouses, or a greater ornament to the master who employs him, than an obsequious genius? No. But the former will be quiet, every way quiet; and geniuses are apt to speculate, and speculation is apt to run foul of system, and to do mischief, even where the meaning is good enough: aye, there was the rub. *Leucophaeus* speculated once upon a time on his *quiet* brethren, in the midst of their repose; and for this he has ever since been called an *impudent* writer. But has it been duly considered in what respectable school he learned his *impudence*? Did he bring any thing from that school but his *impudence*? And why should not *impudence* do as much for him as it has done for ——— others? So reasoned the public. And they who perhaps would not have employed *Leucophaeus* where an honest man was to be had, could suggest no reason to themselves why he should not be employed by those who were no honest-ter than himself.

At length the dispute is ended. An office was contrived which would answer the highest demands of his ambition. He was to be the *Solomon* to a Queen of *Sheba*. A little solemn grimace in the quarter where it was first proposed drew him to act his part in this egregious farce. Of all the men upon earth *Leucophaeus* was the last to suspect design, when any thing was said to his advantage. Compliments on this occasion were not spared; and as they  
came



came from *the white-bearded fellow* no gull was suspected. Intoxicated with this prospect he became, what his insidious coaxers wanted to have him—perfectly ridiculous. After some time, the loudness of the laugh roused him from his reverie. The length of the nap had sobered him. He enquired seriously of those who knew the best where all this was to end, and—*behold! it was all a dream.* The reflection was too much for the feeling indignant spirit of *Leucophaeus*. A speedy end was put to it by an act of desperation; for which, perhaps, at the final day of account, not *Leucophaeus* alone shall be answerable. I am,

S I R,

Your humble servant,

Æ A C U S.

Nº LVIII.

To the Printer of the London Chronicle.

S I R,

Dec. 20, 1763.

THERE has lately been made to the British Museum a valuable addition of many volumes of scarce tracts, with not a few *manuscripts*: whether it may be hoped that the tract of Lord Bacon, mentioned by *Impartial*, is to be found among them, we will not pretend to say. Those tracts were collected by a private gentleman, by command of king Charles II. who, after the gentleman had, with the greatest assiduity, diligence, and fidelity, completed his task, was mean enough to offer him such a price for the collection as he could not accept of. The books remained in the collector's family till 1761, when they were purchased by Lord Bute for between £. 3 and 400. But as it was much to be regretted that such a valuable collection should be shut up in any private library, to which no access can be had, as there may be to several noblemen's libraries at Paris, his Majesty returned to Lord Bute the money he gave for the books, and presented them to the British Museum. A correspondent favoured us some time ago with a particular account of this royal present to the public, in the following words:

“An exact collection of all the books and pamphlets on both sides, printed from the beginning of the year 1641, to the coronation of King Charles the Second, 1661. And near one hundred manuscripts never yet in print. The whole containing 30,000 books and tracts uniformly bound, consisting of 2000 volumes, dated in the most exact manner, and so carefully preserved as to have received no damage. The catalogue of them makes 12 volumes in folio, and they are so marked and numbered that the least treatise may be readily found, and even the very day on which they became publick, is wrote on most of them.

“Thi.

“ This collection cost great pains and expence, and was carried on so privately as to escape the most diligent search of the usurper, who hearing of them, used his utmost endeavours to obtain them. They were sent into Surry and Essex, and at last to Oxford, the then library keeper Dr. Barlow, being a friend to the collector; and under his custody they remained till the Doctor was made Bishop of Lincoln, as appears by the underwritten letter from the Bishop to the collector.

*A Copy of the Bishop of Lincoln's Letter.*

“ My good Friend,

Oxon, Feb. 6, 1676.

“ I am about to leave Oxford, my dear mother, and that excellent and costly collection of books which have so long been in my hands; now I entreat you either to remove them, or speak to my successor, that they may continue there till you can otherwise conveniently dispose of them. Had I money to my mind, I would be your chapman for them. But your collection is so great, and my purse so little, that I cannot compass it. It is such a collection (both for the vast number of books, and the exact method in which they are bound) as none has, or can possibly have, but yourself. The use of such a collection might be of exceeding benefit to the publick, both in church and state, were it placed in some safe repository, where learned and sober men might have access to the use of it; the fittest place for it (both for use and honour) is the King's, Sir Thomas Bodlie's, or some publick library; for in such places it might be the most safe and useful. I have long endeavoured to find benefactors, and a way to procure it for Bodlie's library, and I do not despair but such a way may be found, in good time, by

“ Your affectionate Friend,

“ THOMAS LINCOLN.”

Nº LIX.

Anthony Collins.

ON the death of Anthony Collins, the following character of him was published in the papers :

On Saturday last died at his house in Harley-Square, Anthony Collins, Esq. He was remarkably the active, upright, and impartial magistrate; the tender husband, the kind parent, the good master, and the true friend.

He was a great promoter of literature in all its branches; and an immoveable assertor of universal liberty in all civil and religious matters.

Whatever his sentiments were in certain points this is what he declared at the time of his death; *viz.* that as he had always endeavoured, to the best of his ability, to serve  
God,

GOD, his king, and his country, so he was persuaded he was going to that place which GOD had prepared for them that love him; and presently afterwards he said, "the catholic religion is, to love GOD and to love man."

He was an eminent example of temperance and sobriety, and one that had the true art of living. His worst enemies could never charge him with any vice or immorality.

*Wrote by Baron, in a copy of an Historical Essay on The Articles, 1724. A singular book, said to be by Anthony Collins.*

N° LX.

THE Parliament, weighing how prone the people were to adore the shadow of the late King, though the substance was destroyed, caused his statue that was set up at the West end of the cathedral of St. Paul's to be pulled down; and that also in the Royal Exchange, over which they caused to be wrote this motto:

*Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus*

*Anno Libertatis Angliæ restitutæ primo*

*Anno Domini 1648. Januarii 30.*

They likewise caused that badge of monarchy the King's-arms to be defaced and expunged out of all churches, chapels, and places of publick worship, and courts of judicature throughout their dominions, and this indeed was a means to make the giddy people forget the garlick and onions of Egypt they much hankered after.

*Vide Britannia Triumphalis, or a British History of the Wars, from the death of the late King to the dissolution of the last parliament. 12mo, 1654. Very scarce.*

N° LXI.

Portrait de M<sup>r</sup>. Voltaire.

[Picked up at Paris—seems to be well understood—communicated by Abbé Llanglois.]

VOUS me demandés le portrait de M<sup>r</sup>. de Voltaire, que vous ne connoissés, dites vous, que par ses ouvrages, c'est déjà beau coup selon moi, que de connoître l'auteur, mais vous voulés voir l'homme: je vais essayer de vous peindre l'un et l'autre. M<sup>r</sup>. de Voltaire est au dessous de la taille des grands hommes, c'est à dire un peu au dessus de la mediocre; je parle aux naturalistes, ainsi point de chicane sur l'observation; il est maigre, d'un temperament sec, il a la bile brulée, les yeux cuincellans, et malins, tout le feu que vous trouverés dans ses ouvrages, il l'a dans son action vif jusqu'à l'étourderie, c'est une ardeur, qui va, qui re-



vien't, qui vous eblouit, qui petille : un homme ainsi constitué ne peut pas manquer d'être valetudinaire, et la lame usée le fourreau ; gai par complexion, sérieux par régime, ouvert sans franchise, politique sans finesse, sociable sans amis, il fait le monde, et il l'oublie ; le matin Aristippe, et le soir Diogène, il aime les grandeurs, et méprise les grands, il est aise avec eux, contraint avec ses égaux, il commence par la politesse, continue par la froideur, et finit par le degout, il aime la dur, et s'y ennuie, sensible sans attachement, voluptueux sans passion, il ne tient à rien par choix, et tient à tout par inconstance : raisonnable sans principe, sa raison a ses accès comme la folie des autres ; l'esprit droit, le cœur injuste. Il pense à tout et se moque de tout ; libertin sans tempéramment, il sçait aussi moraliser sans mœurs, vain à l'excès, mais encore plus intéressé, il travaille moins pour sa réputation, que pour de l'argent, il a faim et soif, enfin il se presse à travailler, pour se presser de vivre, il est fait pour jouir et il veut amasser.

Voilà l'homme, voici l'auteur. Né poète, les vers lui content très peu, cette facilité lui nuit, et il en abuse, et ne donne presque rien d'achevé ; écrivain facile, ingénieux, élégant, après la poésie son métier seroit l'histoire, s'il faisoit moins de raisonnement, et jamais de parallèle, quoiqu', il en fasse quelque fois d'assés heureux. M<sup>r</sup>. de Voltaire dans son dernier ouvrage a voulu suivre la manière de Bayle, il tache de le copier en le censurant. On a dit depuis longtemps, que pour faire un écrivain sans raison et sans préjugés, il faudroit, qu'il n'eût ni religion, ni patrie, sur ce pié là M<sup>r</sup>. de Voltaire marche à grands pas vers la perfection : on ne peut d'abord l'accuser d'être partisan de sa nation ; on lui trouve au contraire un tic approchant de la manie des vieillards, ces bonnes gens vantent toujours le passé, et sont mécontents du présent. M<sup>r</sup>. de Voltaire est toujours mécontent de son païs, et loue avec encès, ce qui est à mille lieues de lui. Pour la religion on voit bien qu'elle est indecise à ses regards, sans doute il seroit l'homme impartial, que l'on cherche, sans un petit levain d'antijanénisme trop marqué dans ses ouvrages. M<sup>r</sup>. de Voltaire a beaucoup de littérature étrangère, et Française, et de cette erudition mêlée, qui est si fort à la mode aujourd' hui, politique, physicien, géometre, et il est tout ce qu'il veut, mais toujours superficiel, incapable d'approfondir, il faut pourtant avoir l'esprit bien délié pour éfleurer comme lui les matières : il a le goût plus délicat, que sûr. Satyrique ingénieux, mais critique, il aime les sciences abstraites, et l'on ne s'en étonne point ; il veut se donner pour quelque chose de plus élevé, que ne l'est un simple poète : on lui a reproché de n'être jamais dans un milieu raisonnable, tantôt misanthrope et tantôt Satyrique outré, pour tout dire en un mot, M<sup>r</sup>. de Voltaire veut être un homme extraordinaire, et il l'est à coup sûr.

MR. BARON, in his edition of Sidney, has introduced *dotb* and *bath*, instead of *does* and *has*, and the termination *eth*, instead of *s*. But I cannot think that he has done any service to the text by this alteration. There is a stiffness and formality in this termination, which is disagreeable to the ear. *He goeth where he pleaseth—he hath what he chooseth—and he dotb what he thinketh proper*—are modes of expression which no elegant writer of the present age would choose to adopt. *Hath, dotb, &c.* ought to be confined to the serious and solemn stile, to translations of the scriptures, and devotional compositions, to which a gravity and majesty of expression is particularly suitable. If these words should ever be admitted into writings of a more familiar kind, it should only be in those places where they would contribute to the fluency and harmony of the sentence: but this, I apprehend, cannot often be the case.

Mr. Addison has observed, that, by substituting an *s* instead of *eth*, in the termination of our verbs, we have multiplied a letter, which was before too frequent in the English tongue, and added to that *hissing* in our language which is taken notice of by foreigners\*.

This notion has been long implicitly adopted; but, in my opinion, is a vulgar error, a groundless reflection on the harmony of the English language. Do such words as *walks, runs, writes, reads, thinks*, sound less agreeable than *ambulas, curris, scribis, legis, cogitas*? or than *walketh, runneth, writeth, readeth, thinketh*? All that we seem to gain by the latter is a superfluous syllable.

We have such words as *exists, places, possesses, pleases, and subsists*, and these perhaps are some of the most exceptionable in the English language, with respect to the sibilation of the *s*. But this obnoxious letter much oftener occurs in those Latin words from which these are derived. Thus we have *existentibus, possessiones, possedisses, posuisses, placuisses, placentibus, subsistentibus*.

It is perhaps impossible to produce from an English writer a sentence which contains more *s's*, in proportion to its length, than the following: “Dicitur Sulpicius pretiosas habuisse possessiones in Sicilia;” or this; “Receptos ad se socios sibi adsciscunt.” Cæf. l. i. § 4.

The following lines from Virgil will evidently prove, that the objection, which, Mr. Addison says, has been made by foreigners to the English language, might, with much greater reason, have been urged against the Latin:

Sæpe malum hoc nobis, si mens non læva fuisset—  
Stultus ego huic nostræ similem, quo sæpe solemus—  
Sic canibus catulos similes, sic matribus hædos—  
Thestylis et rapido fessis mefforibus æstu—  
Nonne fuit fatius tristes Amaryllidis ira—

\* Spectator, N° cxxxv.

Sic positæ quoniam suaves miscetis odores—  
 Et si non aliqua nocuisses, mortuus esses—  
 Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos—  
 Sylvestris raris sparfit labrusca racemis—  
 Fraxinus in fylvis, cedat tibi pinus in hortis—  
 Præsertim incertis si mensibus amnis abundans—  
 Sin tumulis acclive solum collesque supinos—  
 Aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanes—  
 Exercebis humum, folisque instabis aristis—  
 Pontibus ut crebris possint consistere et alas.

The harmony of these verses cannot be disputed ; yet we may venture to assert, that there are no lines to be met with in English, where the sibilation of the *s* is more discernible. The observation therefore alledged by Mr. Addison seems to be a vulgar error.

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Nº LXIII.

To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

S I R,

AMIDST that torrent of abuse which is daily pouring out on the most illustrious characters of the age, the learned Bishop of G. could not fail to come in for his full share. To omit numberless other instances, a thing, called “An Ode to T. Edwards, Esq.” (him of the Dunciad) is just published, and retailed, with much industry, in the public prints. The writer, it seems, is Dr. Akenfide ; and the date, as we are told in the title-page, 1751.

What provocation the doctor then had for this ingenious piece of revenge, every body understands : but what determined him to make it public at this time may require to be explained. The secret, I suppose, is no more than this ; the Bishop has just now given a new edition of the first volume of his D. L. ; and has thought fit to reprint the *Censure* he had before made on a certain note of this poet—that very *Censure* which had occasioned the ingenious ode of 1751. *Hinc illæ Lachrymæ*. But what ! the reader will say, this *Censure* is of a critical and controversial kind ; it shews Dr. Akenfide to be an ill reasoner. And how is this charge evaded by the Doctor’s attempt to shew the Bishop to be an ill man ? Certainly not at all : but it was something to blacken whom he could not confute.

In the mean time, the triumphant superiority of the Bishop’s pen is very conspicuous. For who that could have answered the *Writer* would have had the meanness to attack the *Man* ?

But



But what, after all, is this attack? Why, the Bishop, it seems, thought favourably of a dunce, then his acquaintance, and entertained some unfavourable sentiments of a wit, afterwards his friend. And what is there in all this, (admitting the fact to be as is related) which can be thought to lessen the character of the learned prelate? What great man has *never* made an acquaintance with a little one? or, what wise man has *never* been misled by prejudice? I am not in the secret of the Bishop's history, but I could tell the Doctor of many dull men whom this generous prelate has had the condescension to treat with more civility than they deserved: and if he has had his prejudices against some ingenious men, I could tell him how frankly, upon better information, they have been given up. The truth is, these petty cavils give no shock to a great character, which ever sustains itself by its own proper merits, and is sure to have justice done it, when the offensive splendor of those merits is withdrawn. For, as his great friend (to whom, and to dulness, the Bishop has long since atoned for any injustice he might formerly have done to either) said divinely well,

“Direct we feel their beam intensely beat;

“These suns of glory please not till they set.”

I am, S I R,

May 6, 1765.

Your humble servant,

J. L.

N° LXIV.

To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

S I R,

OBSERVING in your paper of May 10 some strictures upon an ode to T. Edwards, Esq. ascribed to Dr. Akenfide, it brought to my mind another piece of poetry, intitled, *The Pleasures of Imagination*, published above twenty years ago, and ascribed to the same author; in which are the following lines:

“Others of graver mien, behold; adorn'd

“With holy ensigns, how sublime they move,

“And, bending oft their sanctimonious eyes,

“Take homage of the simple-minded throng,

“Ambassadors of Heaven.”

This passage, it seems, gave offence to the learned writer, who is supposed to be the subject of the little piece of satyr inscribed to Mr. Edwards above-mentioned; and who, in a preface to some *Remarks on several Occasional Reflections*, published in 1744, calls these lines “an Insult on the whole Body of the Christian Clergy;” and comments upon them thus:

4 Z z

“And

“ And well do they [the clergy] deserve his *moral ridicule*, supposing them to be drawn  
 “ like ; for, if I understand any thing of colouring, the features are pride, hypocrisy, fraud,  
 “ and imposture. I call it an insult on the whole body of the clergy, because I know of no  
 “ part of them who hold that the *ministry* of the gospel (or, as St. Paul calls it, of *Recon-*  
 “ *ciliation*) was given them by the religion of CHRIST, but hold likewise, with the same  
 “ apostle, (who speaks of himself here as a simple minister of the gospel) that they are *Am-*  
 “ *bassadors for CHRIST.*”

Whether Dr. Akenfide intended the description contained in these lines for the whole body of the Christian Clergy, must be left to his own conscience; for I do not know that he ever explained himself farther upon the subject. If he included the whole body of the clergy in the description, it is doubtless an *Insult* upon them all : but, in my opinion, there is no occasion to understand the words in that extent : the lines contain a description of a sort of *personal demeanour*, which Dr. Akenfide himself must have known is not common to ALL the clergy. And it is obvious enough, that it cost the learned commentator some pains to accommodate the poetry with *his* interpretation. But let us now attend to another piece of poetry.

In the year 1743 (the year immediately preceding the publication of this reproof to Dr. Akenfide) came out a pompous edition of the *Dunciad* in quarto, enriched with some *additional* remarks, as we are informed in an advertisement placed immediately after the title leaf, and signed with the initials W. W. The world (with what justice I pretend not to say) ascribed these *additional* remarks on the *Dunciad* to the same learned hand who commented as above upon the passage cited from Dr. Akenfide's poem.

In this edition of the *Dunciad* we meet with the following lines, at page 113 :

“ He ceas'd, and spread the robe ; the crowd confess  
 “ The rev'rend Flamen in his lengthened drefs.  
 “ Around him wide a sable army stand,  
 “ A low-born, cell-bred, selfish, servile band,  
 “ Prompt or to guard or stab, to faint or damn,  
 “ Heaven's Swifs, who fight for any GOD or Man.

On which we have the following *additional* remark : “ It is to be hoped that the Satyr  
 “ in these lines will be understood in the *confined* sense in which the author meant it, of  
 “ *such only of the clergy*, who, though solemnly engaged in the service of religion, dedicate  
 “ themselves, for venal and corrupt ends, to that of ministers or factions ; and though edu-  
 “ cated under an entire ignorance of the world, aspire to interfere in the government of it,  
 “ and consequently to disturb and disorder it, &c.”

How the Remarker could *hope* this, as there is no more (if so much) in these lines, than in those of Dr. Akenfide, to limit the satyr to a certain, *such of the clergy only*, I cannot perceive. He says the author *meant* it so. If he did, he expressed his *meaning* very awkwardly ; for the comment puts a restriction upon the text which the words can by no artifice

be

be brought to admit of: as the poet, beyond all shadow of a doubt, intended to characterize the *religious* as well as the *political* achievements of these *heavenly* Swifts. In my opinion, Pope has given his description rather more of the air of an universal character than the lines of Dr. Akenfide exhibit: and if I may have leave to go the round-about way, after Dr. Akenfide's commentator, I think I can prove it. For example: the *Swifts of heaven* must be soldiers in the pay of heaven; and what clergyman, who professes to be a soldier of JESUS CHRIST, in view of *the prize of his high calling, a crown of righteousness*, but will acknowledge himself one of *heaven's Swifts*: Whereas, if I am rightly informed, the drudges of the ministry are looked upon, even by the order itself, rather to be the ambassadors of their superiors in office, than ambassadors immediately deputed by commissions from heaven, at least till they rise to stations in which the character may be supported with suitable dignity.

If it should be said, that it is absurd to suppose heaven should retain in its service soldiers to guard or stab, to saint or damn, to fight for *any* God, or *any* Man, indifferently; why so say I in the other case; it being equally absurd to suppose that heaven should send ambassadors, with the characteristic marks upon them of pride, hypocrisy, fraud, and imposture. But who are to answer for these absurdities? Assuredly not *we* commentators, but the wicked authors who drew the pictures with these shocking features.

I have not the pleasure to have the least personal knowledge of Dr. Akenfide, but from his general character must conclude, that he has no objection to connexions of esteem and friendship with ingenious and liberal-minded men among the English Clergy, any more than with scholars and gentlemen of other professions: and as *some* of these would certainly not come under the description given in those lines of his above-cited; it cannot be fairly supposed he meant them for a satyr upon the whole order, whatever his own religious sentiments might be.

Mr. Pope had quite other reasons for being disgusted with the English established clergy of his own times. He was a Roman Catholic; they were Protestants, whose principles and duty to the government were inducements to them to exercise their attention and vigilance against the superstition and disloyalty of the members of the church of Rome, to the political as well as religious doctrines of which Mr. Pope betrays, in some of his writings, a very strong attachment, notwithstanding his *affected* neutrality on particular occasions. It is therefore highly probable that *his* little piece of satyr was intended to comprehend the whole body of the English clergy; and this the rather, as, when the verses were first penned, it is likely he had no experience that there was so remarkable an exception to the general character he had given of the clergy as he afterwards found in the course of his friendship with that steady, pious, simple-minded, consistent, humble, and peaceable divine, to whom he assigned the sole privilege of commenting upon his works; for as to his connexions with Atterbury and Swift, he must be very sensible, with all his seeming friendship for them, that there was nothing in *their* characters that would require to have the censure limited  
either



either with respect to them, or some others of the same stamp with whom he might happen to have some accidental acquaintance.

I find indeed that it is a problem with some critics whom I have consulted on the present occasion, whether if the connexion with *Theobald, Concanen*, &c. had lasted a little longer, and if during that connexion, and an estrangement from Mr. Pope, it had fallen within the province of the Remarker on Dr. Akenfide's poem, to *benotify* the Dunciad; it is, I say, a question with some people, whether in that case Mr. Pope would not have been chastised with as much severity as Dr. Akenfide was the year following, *for insulting the whole body of the Christian Clergy*. I am,

S I R,

Your humble Servant,

CONTRASTER.

N° LXV.

The Curators of the University of Leyden, March 20, 1760, to their anonymous benefactor (T. H.) on his presenting them with Milton's Prose-works. Communicated by Mr. Valtravers, in a Letter of his, dated Hambourg, March 27, 1760.

[See Mr. Valtravers's Letter, dated Hamburg, March 27, 1760.]

MONSIEUR,

QUOIQUE votre modestie nous empêche de connoître celui auquel nous avons l'obligation très essentielle, au magnifique présent des oeuvres en Prose de Milton, nous espérons pourtant que vous voudrez bien nous permettre de vous témoigner par celle ci, combien votre générosité nous a touché, et de vous remercier du don précieux dont il vous a plu d'enrichir la bibliothèque de notre université.

Ce n'est pas sans raison ce nous semble, Monsieur, qu'en recevant des témoignages si glorieux de l'approbation des étrangers, nous nous osons flatter que les soins et les peines que nous prenons sans cesse pour faire fleurir toutes les sciences et les beaux arts dans notre université ne sont pas entièrement perdus, & quoique en suivant notre penchant pour le bien des études, nous ne faisons pas d'autre chose, que d'exécuter ponctuellement les ordres justes, et les intentions salutaires de notre souverain, cela n'empêche pourtant point que nous ne goûtions une satisfaction tout à fait particulière quand des personnes éclairées, et désintéressées, comme vous Monsieur, veulent bien approuver notre conduite par des preuves aussi marquées, que sont celles que vous avez eu la bonté de nous donner.

En envisageant la chose de cette manière, nous croyons Monsieur que les sentimens généreux, qui vous animent, n'auront rien à souffrir, en recevant l'aveu de la reconnaissance parfaite,

parfaite, que nous protestons vous devoir en recompense de la politesse avec la quelle vous avez agi a notre egard, et du desir sincere que nous sentons de vous etre utile a quelque chose. Soiez persuadés, Monsieur, que la noblesse de vos demarches envers nous, nous a obligé infiniment, que nous sommes convaincus quelles merite l'applaudissement de tous ceux qui par leur genie superieure se savent distinguer du reste des hommes, que nous n'oublierons jamais votre generosité, et qu'en cas que vous vouliez bien enfaire naitre les occasions, nous tacherons toujours de vous prouver par l'effet que nous sommes

M O N S I E U R,

Vos bons Amis,

Les Curateurs de l'université de Leurs Grandes & Nobles Puissances,  
les Etats d'Hollande et de Westfrise a Leyden, comme aussi les  
Bourgemaitres de la ditte Ville,

Leyden,  
ce 20. Mars, 1760.

Par leur Ordre,

JAN VAN ROYEN FILS DE DAVIDE,  
1760. *Secrétaire.*

N° LXVI.

Copy of a Letter from Professor Allamand to Mr. Valltravers.

*Leyden, Oct. 16, 1761.*

J'AI déjà reçu hier un des paquets que vous m'avez annoncé, je crois que c'est celui qui a passé par le canal de Mons. de Smeth. J'attendrai l'autre avec impatience, et suivant vos directions je ne parlerai point de ce beau present, jusqu'à ce que l'autre paquet me soit arrivé et même je n'en parlerai quand il sera entre mes mains, qu'au moment que je la deliverai, et j'attendrai pour cela le 8 du mois prochain; c'est le jour que nos curateurs s'assemblent. Je veux qu'ils aient tous en même tems le plaisir de la surprise. Une lettre de remerciement qui sera écrite par leur secrétaire, & que je prendrai la liberté d'insérer sous votre couvert, fera l'avis de la reception du tout.

E X T R A C T.

Votre seconde lettre m'a rempli d'admiration pour le généreux inconnu, qui nous fait tant de bien. Le choix des livres d'ont jusqu'à present il a enrichi notre bibliothèque, nous fait comprendre qu'il n'est pas moins animé par l'amour de sa Patrie, que par un gout enquis pour les sciences. Le nouveau don que vous m'annoncez, nous le fait connoître pour un protecteur des arts, tres distingué. Nos curateurs qui sont tres sensibles à sa generosité desirerent fort de pouvoir lui temoigner leur reconnoissance mais l'incognito qu'il s'obstine de garder, nous apprend que le seul plaisir de contribuer au bien public est la recompence qu'il cherche.

En

En mon particulier je lui dois des remerciemens bien sincères, pour le magnifique exemplaire de la vie de *Milton* qu'il a eu la bonté de m'envoyer, par M. Genevois. Celui-ci est parti d'ici sans que je l'aie vu, ainsi que je n'ai pas pu le charger de faire parvenir les assurances de ma reconnaissance à ce généreux bienfaiteur. Permettez moi de vous charger de cette commission puisque vous en êtes à portée ; rien ne me seroit plus agréable que de pouvoir lui témoigner avec ma reconnaissance, la profonde estime que sa conduite m'a inspiré pour lui.

## N° LXVII.

Extract of a Letter written Jan. 1, 1762, at Leyde, by professor Allamand to Rod. de Valtravers, in London, and received Jan. 5.

MONSIEUR,

JA'I reçu votre dernière avec d'autant plus de plaisir, que je n'espérois pas d'avoir de vos nouvelles, qu'après que vous auriez reçu celle que je vous ai promise pour notre généreux anonyme. Par les preuves, que nous avons eû de sa bénéficence et de la protection signalée, qu'il accorde aux arts et aux sciences, je serois très persuadé, que tout ce que vous m'en dites est vrai, si même la chose m'étoit attestée par une personne moins veridique et moins bon juge que vous. Ses deux presents \* nous sont bien parvenus, et le 8 de Novembre, ils ont été produits à l'assemblée de Messieurs les Curateurs, où ils ont été admirés. La résolution a été prise, de charger le secrétaire d'en témoigner au donateur la reconnaissance la plus vive au nom du collège. Or c'est après sa lettre, que j'attendois pour vous écrire : Si j'ai attendu, et si je dois attendre encore, ce n'est pas la faute du secrétaire. Sa lettre est prête ; mais la coutume de ce collège est, de ne rien expédier qui n'aye passé par la résomption. Or tous les jours nous espérons une assemblée extraordinaire de Messrs. les Curateurs, qui cependant n'a point encore eû lieu, mais qui se tiendra sûrement au premier jour. Je ne veux pas cependant différer plus longtems de vous donner les nouvelles, que vous attendez de moi, pour être instruit du sort de l'envoy fait par notre liberal et bienfaisant anonyme. Si vous lui lisez, ce que je viens de vous marquer, ajoutez y je vous prie, que personne ne l'admire plus que moi. [This I deny.]

La lettre, par laquelle vous m'avez annoncé son beau présent, a été remise et luë à Messrs. les Curateurs, qui l'ont gardée dans leurs archives.

Mr. de Smeth a bien reçu vos lettres, et il doit avoir eû l'honneur de vous écrire ; il y a au moins une quinzaine de jours, qu'il m'a dit, qu'il s'acquitteroit de ce devoir.

(L. S.) ALLAMAND.

\* 1. Certain models in wax, by Goffet, of eminent British writers. 2. Certain medals in silver.



## N° LXVIII.

Abstract of an Article contained in the literary news of Gottingen, for the year 1762. p. 392. Feb.

[Translated from the German.]

WE see a new edition of a book, intituled, "Life of Milton, with Amyntor, by John Toland; published by Millar, in the Strand, in the year 1761." An Englishman, unknown to us, has made a present of it, along with other English Books, accompanied with interesting manuscript remarks, to the public library of this university. And since he has concealed his name, we take the opportunity of the indication of this new edition, to apprise him of the safe arrival of his donation, in the best manner we can.

## N° LXIX.

Copy of a Letter to R. De Valltravers, Esq. at London, from Professor Allamand, at Leyden; dated May 5, 1762.

MONSIEUR,

*Leide, ce 5 Mai, 1762.*

VOICI enfin la lettre par la quelle Mess. nos Curateurs témoignent leur reconnoissance au généreux inconnu qui à enrichi notre bibliothèque des présents si considérables. Il y a long tems que cette lettre auroit du vous avoir été envoyée; mais des obstacles que je n'avois pas prévu en ont retardé l'expédition. Il y a trois mois que la résolution a été prise de l'écrire; mais cela n'a pas suffi: aucune résolution ne peut être exécutée, si elle n'a pas passé par la refomtion, comme on parle ici. Or pour cela il faut une nouvelle assemblée, qui n'a lieu qu'à chaque trimestre; ainsi ce n'à été que hier que cette lettre m'a pu être remise. Votre liberal ami voudra bien pardonner ce retard à cause des formalités usitées dans ce païs, et il doit être persuadé que la reconnoissance qu'on a ici pour ses bienfaits n'en est pas moins vive, quoique les assurances en soient tardives. En lui remettant cette lettre, ozerois-je vous prier de l'assurer du profond respect que m'inspire pour lui son bon gout et sa bencificence?

## A Letter from EDWARD HOLYOKE to THOMAS HOLLIS.

S I R,

*Cambridge, Feb. 8, 1764.*

I Received your kind letter of May 17, together with the case of books, which (according to your usual goodness) you sent therewith; for which our corporation, in a grateful sense of your beneficence, send you their thanks, as in the inclosed vote. I had wrote you long before this time; but waited till I could inform you of the name of a new building added by our general court to those we have already. The account of which is as followeth:—Our college hath been of late so much increased by the number of students (at present 184 undergraduates) that we greatly wanted accommodations for them; wherefore we applied to our general court, that they would make us such a grant as would enable us to build such an house as we wanted; which grant, *viz.* £. 400. sterling, they readily made us; accordingly, we immediately proceeded upon the affair, and erected a very fair building, much more beautiful and commodious than any we had before, which was finished the last summer, and contains two-and-thirty chambers. About which time, I being in company (on a certain occasion) with a large number of our ministers, when (speaking of said building) it was moved by one of the company, since the house is now finished, what will the name of it be? To which I answered, that as Mr. Thomas Hollis of London [your bountiful uncle] was by far our greatest benefactor, I thought it ought to have the name of Hollis, on which they all manifested their hopes it would be so called. Soon after this was a meeting of our curators or overseers, to whom I proposed Hollis as the name of the new building, on which they agreed that it would be a most proper name for it; but said they believed the governor would think it his prerogative to give the name; upon which I waited on the governor [Mr. Bernard] to whom I shewed the great obligations we had been under to do honour to the name of Hollis, first with respect to Mr. Thomas Hollis, who was our greatest benefactor, as he had established with us two professorships and ten scholarships, besides gave us a great number of books, and a most valuable philosophic and mathematical apparatus; and with respect to Mr. Nathaniel Hollis, who established two scholarships, and others of the name who sent us an orrery, armillary sphere, &c. &c. &c. And further, with respect to Mr. John Hollis, who sent us a large number of most valuable books; to which I added your own almost annual benefactions. I added, moreover, That though there was one of our towns which, for the honour of that family, was named Holliston, yet the reason of that name would not long be remembered; but if one of the colleges was so named it would perpetuate the memory of our great benefactor, and the honour of his house. Upon which I told the governor I requested that the new building at the college might be named HOLLIS. To which he readily answered, With all his heart; and added, that upon the

femiannual meeting of the overseers, in May next, he would come to Cambridge, and give the name of Hollis-Hall.

But the general court meeting at Boston, some time in November, (after having sat about two months) desired the Governor, that before they should rise, they might in a body see the new building at the college; accordingly the court was adjourned to Cambridge on Jan. 13. when the Governor and Council, with the lower house, met together in Holden-chapel, and when they were well seated (I having before desired the Governor he would then give the name, which he had consented to) I rose up and said :

“ As there are here present his Excellency the Governor, the Honourable his Majesty’s Council, and the Honourable House of Representatives, who by their vote gave to the College the new building in our view, it cannot therefore be an improper time to ask a name for it: wherefore I apply to your Excellency to give the name.”

Upon which the Governor, standing up, said :—“ I now give to this new building the name of HOLLIS-HALL.”

After this there was a gratulatory oration in English, given by one of the students, and that in a handsome manner. And after an agreeable entertainment of the whole court (who dined in the College-hall) they went to take a view of the new-named building; and then returned to Boston.

Sir, I write you this very particular account of the whole affair, that you may see how very desirous we are to do honour to your worthy and munificent family.

But, however I rejoice in all I have said above, as done in honour of your generous and charitable house, the holy providence of God calls me to bewail the great, and, in some regards, irreparable loss, we have sustained by fire, since the 13th of January above-mentioned.

The small-pox coming into Boston, and beginning to spread, the general court were much alarmed (for that the greatest part of them, by far, had never had it); and therefore desired the Governor to adjourn them to Cambridge; which he did: and they came up and sat here on Jan. 18. the Governor and Council in the Library and the Representatives in the Hall underneath, till the 24th, when it being very cold, they made large fires, and that in the library had (it is thought) in the day-time fired a beam which run under the hearth, which in the dead of the night set fire to the library and whole house, which was so increased when discovered, that no single thing could be saved, and was so raging as to baffle all attempts to stop it, the wind having been, and then continuing, very strong. The other three buildings, *viz.* Massachusetts, Hollis, and Sloughton, were much endangered, the fire catching upon them several times, but having a good engine, and well tended, none (by the good providence of God) but Harvard was lost; but then the treasure therein was vastly more worth than the building; *viz.* the whole library, which at least consisted of 5000 volumes; of which near 3000 were quartos and folios; every thing also in the apparatus, procured by the munificence of your family. It is true the general court immediately made us a grant for rebuilding the house; but at present we have no provision made for



obtaining a library and apparatus, wherefore we are greatly at a loss what we shall do in that respect; and I am afraid must despair of those losses being made up, unless it be from your side of the water; but cannot have the face to ask your assistance, having continually received great benefactions from your bountiful hand: but this you will give us leave to hope for, that you would be pleased to move any gentlemen of your acquaintance, who are charitably disposed to assist us in the repair of these our great losses. There are others of our corporation will write you on this matter, to beg your assistance, as above, with whose motions I know you will readily comply, whereby you may be a means of greatly serving us, and give peculiar satisfaction to,

S I R,

Your most obedient, obliged, and  
very humble servant,

EDWARD HOLYOKE.

P. S. As the only ornament of our Hall was our benefactor's picture, which was consumed in the flames, so we greatly desire, if you have one with you, to send us a copy, to be placed in our hall, when rebuilt, as also an escutcheon of the arms of the family, which also was lost in the library.

Sir, There is one thing I would inform you of; *viz.* That the Curators of Harvard-College, and the Corporation, are two distinct bodies; wherefore desire, when you are pleased to write to me, to be communicated, or send any thing, that you would direct it to be communicated or presented to the Corporation of Harvard College.

We should be very glad to have an account of your family, and how you yourself stand related to our benefactors.

I am glad also I can inform you that the last parcel of books you sent, with your letter of May 17, have escaped the destruction, as it remained in my house for want of boxes, and fitting a place for them in the library.

## A Letter from ANDREW ELIOT to THOMAS HOLLIS.

*Boston, N. E. Oct. 26, 1764.*

S I R,

I AM directed by the Overseers of Harvard-College to transmit the enclosed vote of thanks for your generous donations to that society. I know not how to obey their orders, without expressing the sense I have of the vast obligations we are under to you and your family. No one can be a friend to the College, or to New-England, and not venerate the name of Hollis.—I am glad to find we are like to be again favoured with the effigies of our great benefactor, and am sorry you decline sending the other which was requested.—The Reverend President will inform you what has passed in the Corporation; there is no person with whom you can more properly correspond in affairs relating to the college than with him who is at the head of it. The reason the President's name was not to the letter you received from the committee of the overseers was the prevalence of the small-pox in Boston, which rendered it unsafe for him to meet with the overseers, or their committee.—It will doubtless give you pleasure to be informed, that Mr. Hancock, lately deceased in Boston, has, by his will, founded a Professorship for the Hebrew and other Oriental languages. A subscription for a library has been opened among ourselves, with considerable success. Mr. Hancock before his death had determined to give largely to it; and his heir has generously fulfilled his intention. Your example will, I have reason to think, be an incitement to others.

I am,

S I R,

(With the sincerest gratitude and respect)

Your obedient humble servant,

ANDREW ELIOT.

N° LXXII.

At a Meeting of the Honorable and Reverend Overseers of Harvard-College, Oct. 16th, 1764.

VOTED, That the thanks of this Board be given to *Thomas Hollis*, Esq. for his regard to Harvard College, expressed in his frequent Benefactions to that Society; and particularly for his late generous donation towards a new Apparatus; and that the Secretary of this Board transmit a Copy of this Resolution to that Gentleman.

*Copy attest.* ANDREW ELIOT,  
*Secretary of the Board of Overseers.*

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N° LXXIII.

At a Meeting of the President and Fellows of Harvard-College,  
8 Dec. 12, 1764.

Present.

The PRESIDENT.  
Dr. SEWELL.  
Dr. WIGGLESWORTH.  
Mr APPELTON.  
Mr. HANCOCK.  
Mr. MARSH.  
Mr. TREASURER.

VOTE III. That the thanks of the Corporation be given to *Thomas Hollis*, of London, Esq. for his late most generous benefactions; in sending us no fewer than seven boxes of books, for the repair of our Library. And that the President be desired to write to him accordingly.

*A true copy, extr. de Lib. VII.*  
*per* EDWARD HOLYOKE, President.

N° LXXIV.



S I R,

*Cambridge, Jan. 5, 1765.*

I HAVE the honour, the pleasure, and satisfaction, to have received several letters, giving us a most modest and humble account of your mite you have cast into the treasury of GOD, for the relief of our wants; which will, without doubt, be graciously accepted by our great Saviour, though not because it was all your living, yet as it is a much greater proportion of the deodands we have received for the repair of our losses than from any other person whatsoever. And now what returns shall we make for this your great goodness! You are, Sir, very sensible we can make no returns, but our thanks, which you have from our grateful corporation in the inclosed vote. Alas, a poor offering! Wherefore, with our hearty prayers, we recommend you to that GOD who hath been a witness of this your great charity.—We have received, with much pleasure, the picture of your generous uncle, the founder of our professorships, quite safe from damage, as indeed are all the boxes.—And now, Sir, give me leave to continue my desires, that you would be so good as to send us also your own picture, which will be to us all a most acceptable present.

As to what you write in yours of Aug. 18, desiring to know with whom it is proper to correspond in your affairs respecting what you send to us; I answer, that I think myself the most proper person, as I take the whole care of those affairs, by a particular personal inspection: and you may assure yourself, that it will be with a great deal of pleasure that I (if I am living, for I am now an old man) shall receive any of yours, directed to

Your most obliged and obedient humble servant

EDWARD HOLYOKE.

P. S. Sir, I know not whether I wrote you an account of the blunder I was guilty of in mine of Feb. 18, wherein I wrote that our general court had voted £.400. sterling for the repair of the house we lost by fire, which should have been £.4000.

Sir, Just before the sealing of this I received another of your kind letters, bearing date Oct. 5, 1764, informing me, that you had sent us by Capt. Hatch, in the Hale Galley, two more cases of books, marked R. O. N° 1, 2. which are not yet brought to Cambridge, but shall soon see them; and for them, when our corporation can meet, they will be glad to make you their grateful acknowledgements.

At a Meeting of the Presidents and Fellows of Harvard College,  
April 1, 1765.

Present.

The PRESIDENT.

Mr. APPELTON.

Mr. HANCOCK.

Mr. MARSH.

Mr. TREASURER.

VOTE XVIII. Whereas the worthy *Thomas Hollis*, of London, Esq. hath most generously contributed to the replenishing our Library, by furnishing it from time to time with a great number of valuable books; and hath more particularly, since the loss of our said library by fire, transmitted to us thirteen cases or boxes of books, the receipt of two whereof, by the Hale Galley, in January last, and four by the Devonshire the last week, we have not, till now, had opportunity of acknowledging; and as said thirteen boxes or chests of books do in so large a measure contribute to the making up our said loss, we would, with the highest gratitude, express, as well the sense we have of his many past acts of kindness and munificence, as the late generous and charitable donation, the value of which we esteem much enhanced, by the great care discovered, not only in the choice of the books, but the neatness and elegance of them, the readiness he hath discovered in undertaking, and dispatch in accomplishing, his benevolent design, the better to relieve us in our distress: wherefore we unanimously vote, That our grateful and sincere acknowledgements, and most hearty thanks, be given to Mr. Hollis for his large, charitable, and seasonable benefactions. And the President is hereby desired to signify the same to him as soon as may be.

*A true copy, extracted from lib. VII. pag. 131.*

*Per* EDWARD HOLYOKE, President.

N° LXXVI.

Viro Generosissimo

Anonymo Anglo

Decreto

Illustrissimorum Hollandae, quae Lugduni Batavorum est,

Academiae Curatorum, Amplissimorumque

Urbis Leidae

Consulum

S. P. D.

Qui iis a Secretis est

JOANNES VAN ROÏEN DAV. Fil.

QUANTUM tibi debeamus libenter hisce litteris testatum volumus: denuo tibi visum fuit propensum tuum erga universitatem nostram animum, egregiis, ad nos, muneribus missis manifestare, denuo igitur tibi, vir generosissime, munificentia tuâ nos tibi obstrinxisti, Academiamque nostram, tum elegantissima libraria supellectile, tum numismatibus, et artificiosissimis doctissimorum, praestantissimorumque Anglorum, imaginibus ornasti, locupletasti.

Quid quaeso, quum nobis nomen tuum invidetas, amplius relictum est, quam amplissima tua dona simul cum honorificentissimo preconio Angli anonymi exterorum et nostratium oculis exponere, tibi, pro tot tantisque in universitatem nostram collatis beneficiis, maximas, quas possumus, agere et habere gratias.

Istud certe singularis tua modestia nobis vitio vertere non poterit, istud a nobis flagitat ingens, quo agimur desiderium, gratum nostrum erga te animum, quantum quidem nobis licet, profiteri.

Vale, vir generosissime, diu in reipublicae litterariae bonum salvus sis ac superstes, tibi, persuasum habeas, nos summo honore prosequi hominem cujus fortuna nihil majus habet, quam quod possit, nec natura nihil melius quam quod velit prodesse bonis artibus atque scientiis. Iterum Vale. Dabamus Lugduni Batavorum, die xxvi Aprilis, anni 1762.



III<sup>mo</sup>. Sig.<sup>re</sup>. Sig.<sup>re</sup>. Prone Col<sup>mo</sup>.

NELL'adunanza dell'Accademia della Crusca, che si è venuta questa mattina, io mi son dato l'onore di presentare a' Signori Accademici il magnifico dono dei bellissimi libri, che precedentemente mi erano stati consegnati da questo Ecc<sup>mo</sup>. Sig.<sup>r</sup>. Avvocato Giovan Paolo Ombrosi. E perocche dal medesimo ho avuto notizia, che V. S. Ill<sup>ma</sup>. gli aveva a lui a questo oggetto trasmessi unitamente colla Lettera anonima diretta alla stessa Accademia, ho creduto di dovere a lei indivizzare questa mia riverente carta, in cui di commissione del Sig.<sup>r</sup>. Marchese degli Albizi Arciconfalo e di tutti gli altri Accademici debbo esporle i vivi sentimenti di gratitudine, e di riconoscenza, di cui tutti sono rimasi altamente penetrati nel vederli favoriti d'un regalo sì generoso e pregevole. La vita del famoso Giovanni Milton, l'elegantissima raccolta delle sue dottissime opere sì di prosa come di verso, e le inedite rime piacevoli del nostro Antonio Malatesti a lui indivizzate hanno rammentato a questi Signori la parziale affezione, con cui quel celebre letterato riguardò la città nostra non solo nel tempo di sua dimora in essa, ma ancora dopo il suo ritorno in Patria, l'amicizia che strinse e mantenne finché visse co i più celebri letterati del nostro Paese, e l'amore e' l possesso della nostro Toscana favella, che si compiacque sempre di coltivare. Tutte queste considerazioni aggiungono un peso maggiore alle obbligazioni, che professa l'Accademia al gentil donatore; ma per poter soddisfare ad esse in una maniera più adeguata le resta solamente da desiderare di venire in cognizione di un personaggio così benefico e generoso. Di una notizia sì ardentemente bramata potrebbe forse favorire V.S. Ill<sup>ma</sup>. l'Accademia; ma qualora non le fosse permesso di compiacerla, ella resta almeno supplicata di far pervenire a un sì generoso Signore nella più espressiva maniera che si possa i vivissimi sentimenti di sì fatta munificenza, che conserva l'Accademia per un favore così segnalato. Nell'adempimento di mia commissione io trovo ancora il piacere di rassegnare a V. S. Ill<sup>ma</sup>. la mia riverente servitu, ed offerendomi pronto in qualunque occasione ad obbedirla con ogni maggior ossequio mi protesto di V. S. Ill<sup>ma</sup>.

Dev<sup>mo</sup>. e Obbl<sup>mo</sup>. Serv.<sup>r</sup>.

Firenze, 18 Marzo, 1762.

ROSSO ANTONIO MARTINI detto il  
Ripurgato Vicesegretario della  
Accademia della Crusca.

## N° LXXVIII.

From the Curators of the Advocates Library at Edinburgh.

S I R,

PERMIT us, in name of the faculty of advocates here, to return you our most sincere thanks for the repeated presents you have been so good as to make to their library. We beg you will do us the justice to attribute our not acknowledging, so soon as we ought to have done, the obligations you have laid us under, to its true cause, our not knowing, till very lately, to whom we were so much indebted.

The presents you have favoured us with are the more acceptable, that they are generally such as shew the giver to be a friend to the rights of mankind, and the liberties of his country.

As such permit us, in particular, to assure you that we are, with great regard,

S I R,

Your most obedient and most humble servants,

*Edinb. Aug. 7, 1765.*

AD. FERGUSSON, Curator of the Library,

ANDREW CROSBIE, Curator.

## N° LXXIX.

From Mr. VALLTRAVERS to Mr. HOLLIS.

*Rockhall, near Bienne, in Switzerland, Jan. 22, 1765.*

DEAR SIR,

TWO days after my happy return to this my peaceful retirement, I set out for Berne, to execute your much-honoured commands. I found all nine boxes safely arrived the week before, and delivered free of all expence into the Custom-house at Berne. My friend, Mr. Uhlrich, agreeable to a very polite letter of advice from Consul Holford, and my own request at my departure from Switzerland, took them immediately into his custody, paid the Custom-charges, and placed them in the safest and dryest part of his warehouse, until my arrival. Last Wednesday they were brought to the public-library, unpacked, and delivered, with your paper, in the presence of Mr. Uhlrich, by myself, into the hands of Mr. Sinner, chief keeper of the library. I gave him, at the same time, a German translation of your compliment, and such an abstract of your letter, of Sept. 4, as I thought necessary towards a fuller explanation of your true motives. The sight of so uncommon, magnificent, well-chosen, and princely a donation, could not fail to strike admiration into every beholder. Mr. Sinner in particular was in a kind of enchantment. All the books, most elegantly

bound, were ranged on a row, in the middle of the library, upon a temporary shelve, for inspection. The committee of the Curators was summoned for Friday, to give Mr. Sinner time to mark each book with the Library's stamp, to prevent any of them from being secreted, and to make a list of the whole. In that list Mr. Sinner marked those books which were already in the library, and those which happened to be duplicates; that, agreeable to your desire, they may be disposed of by the Curators, to the best advantage of the public library, in exchanging them for other necessary books, to be added to the list and place of your donation. The enclosed note, received on Saturday last at Berne, of Mr. Sinner, will apprise you of the opinion of the committee of Curators, assembled on Friday to view and to deliberate on your repeated munificence. They refer a proper acknowledgement to their superiors, the Lords of the Senate, who were to assemble yesterday. Next post will, I hope, inform me of their determination. This will consist in a further reference to the supreme council, the legislators' representatives of the whole republic. As soon as I hear the day when your donation shall be the subject of their debates, I shall resort again to Berne, to inform, in case of need, the chiefs, consuls, and senators, of the purity and true generosity of your motives, with an inviolable secrecy as to your name. Your two donations will be put together in a distinct place, between the two east windows of the great library, with the inscription, in golden characters, at the top of the shelves, *Bibliotheca Britannica Anonyma*. Should I survive you, I would think myself bound in justice to your immortal merits to substitute another word to the last.

The books were so nicely packed up, and conveyed with so much care, that not one received any damage. I answer to-day two of Consul Holford's polite letters to me, with an enclosed one from Mr. Uhlrich. Indeed he has performed his part of the commission as carefully as if it had been the king's own concern.

The cases appear plainly never to have been opened; for I am sure nobody could repack them with that care and nicety.

I am very proud to have been the instrument or organ of so noble a benefaction to my own country. Mr. Sinner, who has just now published a very learned catalogue of the books and manuscripts of the great library at Berne, is now going to add to it, by way of supplement, the list of your anonymous British library; a copy of which I shall take care to transmit to you.

At Paris, where I stayed but six days, Count Caylus received me, although still confined to his bed. He received your present with great joy. The book was not known to him. He found it so interesting that he determined to have it deposited in the king's library, after having perused it. He has bequeathed all his books and antiquities to his King, for the benefit of all his fellow-citizens. Even your fine Egyptian marbles and bronzes are gone thither. Count Caylus was obliged to have recourse to an advertisement, to learn what country they came from, because Mr. Major refused to procure any hint or light in that respect. Mr. Mariette, whose Treatise on Gems you know, a very ingenious  
friend



friend of Count Caylus and mine, and whom I spoke with lately, told me the whole affair, and shewed me the advertisement, as he wrote it himself, in French, at the request of Count Caylus, who happened to be very ill.

You will soon hear further of,

DEAR SIR,

Your obliged humble servant,

and your devoted friend,

ROD. VALLTRAVERS.

N° LXXX.

Extract of a letter from Mr. HOLLIS to Mr. VALLTRAVERS.

Feb. 12, 1765.

DEAR SIR,

I TAKE this earliest opportunity to acquaint you, in answer to your most kind and handsome favour of Jan. 22, that I abide INTIRELY by my letter of Sept. 4, and the duplicate of that letter of Sept. 7, 1764; that I *cannot* disclose my name; nor wish nor choose a medal of any metal, or honors of any kind, save only the honor of a written testimonial that the books were acceptable, and beneficently received.

N° LXXXI.

From Mr. VALLTRAVERS.

*Rockhall, May 3, 1765.*

DEAR SIR,

HERE enclosed you receive at last the Republic of Berne's letter of thanks to you, for your uncommon, magnificent, and truly generous, noble benefaction to their public library, such as it has been ordered to the academical senate of Berne, to be penned, and as it has been signed and sealed by its President, in the name, and by the express command, of the government. I received it, as it here lies, by the hands of the high treasurer of the Republic, Mr. Willading, with his request to forward it to you in the safest manner.

His Grace was pleased to express both the Republic's in general, and the academical Senate's and his own sense of gratitude and veneration to their liberal and learned donor the friend of mankind, of truth and liberty, in the most obliging manner.

After:

After which he delivered also my superiours thanks to me for the punctual execution of so agreeable a trust; and as a token of their Excellencies' satisfaction and kind regard for me, he bestowed on me, in a Morocco box, a very handsome gold-medal, weighing five ounces, with the Republic's arms on one side, and Minerva holding forth two crowns on the other, with this motto, NVLLA SINE PREMIO VIRTVS.

This testimony of their Excellencies approbation is so much the more honourable, as it has never been bestowed before on any fellow-citizen; but only on public ministers of merit, residing in Switzerland from foreign courts. The dye from which the medal has been struck is an engraving of old John Dacier's, of Geneva. Since your delicacy and generosity declines all claim to it, however just, I shall, however, beg leave to send you a copy of it, either in silver or copper.

My last letter to you, dated April 23, along with a scrawl, containing a view, in Indian ink, of the two cafes where both your donations are deposited, sketched by Mr. Grimm, a young ingenious painter, is, I hope, come safe to Maiden-Lane.—Dr. Fothergill, who had sent for him over to England, has been obliged, on account of his bad state of health, to defer his call till some other time.—Mr. Sinner has promised me two catalogues of the public library of Berne, as soon as your donations shall be added to them, by way of supplement. They are all inscribed in the book of Donators and Benefactors.

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N° LXXXII.

Traduction Française de la Lettre écrite par le Senat Academique, de l'ordre et au nom de Leurs Excellences de l'Etat de Berne, à un Anglois anonyme, leur Bienfaiteur, le 8 Mars, 1765, par le canal de Rod. de Valltravers.

“ MONSIEUR,

“ LE riche présent, que Mr. de Valltravers vient de remettre à notre bibliothèque de  
 “ votre part, a attiré l'attention du gouvernement de cette Republique d'une façon très  
 “ distinguée. L'expression de vos sentimens pour cet état, et la générosité de votre pro-  
 “ cédé ont fait la plus forte impression. Nous avons ordre, de vous témoigner la récon-  
 “ noissance la plus marquée pour ce nouveau bienfait. Tous vos livres sont déposés dans  
 “ des buffets et tablettes séparés dans la bibliothèque, avec l'inscription : *Bibliotheca Angli*  
 “ *Anonymi*. Ce monument sera remarqué de tous les amateurs des lettres, et servira en  
 “ même tems de marque à la gratitude de notre gouvernement. Nous sommes fâchés d'igno-  
 “ rer le nom et la personne de celui qui mérite si fortement l'estime de tous les Républicains  
 “ et de tous les gens de bien.

“ Berne, ce 8 Mars, 1765.”

N. B.

N. B. This translation has been made by Mr. Rod. Sinner, supreme keeper of the public library of Berne, and member of the sovereign council of that Republic, from the German original.

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N° LXXIII.

To Rod. Valltravers, Esq. F. R. S. F. S. A. &c. &c. &c.

At Rockhall, SWITZERLAND.

DEAR SIR,

May 17, 1765.

I AM more happy in possessing the letter written to me by order of their Excellencies of the government of Berne, *received this day*, than if I had been gifted an estate, or had obtained honor of other kind whatsoever.

I beg you, Sir, to assure them, in the speediest most respectful manner, that now it will alway be my duty, as it hath hitherto been my inclination, to wish the prosperity of their canton, and of the brave, worthy, and free people of Switzerland. I am,

DEAR SIR,

Your affectionate friend,

and most obliged servant;

AN ENGLISHMAN,

A LOVER OF LIBERTY,

CITIZEN OF THE WORLD.

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N° LXXIV.

Extract of a Letter to Mr. Valltravers.

DEAR SIR,

May 21, 1765.

I SHALL be glad to receive, by your favour, the catalogue of the books in the public library at Berne. It is hoped *pomp* of every kind will be *avoided* in it, in relation to the anonymous Englishman.

With due compliments to Mrs. Valltravers, and to yourself, I bid you, respectfully, farewell.

P. D.

N° LXXV.



Nº LXXV.

Extract of a note from Mr. Valltravers, dated Hammersmith,  
Jan. 28, 1769. received Jan. 30.

“ The inclosed letters came this evening from Zurich, along with a third letter, from  
“ Profeffor Uftery, repeating the fame apology as Profeffor Hefs.”

Viro Nobiliffimo, Erudito,  
Scientiarum artiumve, publicæque Libertatis Fautori eximio  
Benefico, generoso Anglo-Britanno,  
qui sub nomine A. MARVELL, latere voluit,  
maxime nobis edendo  
Bibliotheca civica Thuricensis in Helvetia Curatores  
S. D. P.

FERRE in nos, vir illustriffime, generose, vertere poffes illa Ciceronis verba : qui femel  
verecundiæ fines tranferit, illum oportet bene et gnaviter impudentem effe. Quintus et  
qui excedit, jam annus premitur, ex quo munere fplendido æque ac generoso Bibliothecam  
noftam publicam exornaffi, iterataque vice beaffi, multiplices ideoque gratiarum actiones  
jure merito a nobis postulare potuiffi ; quas quum fruffra hætenus expectaffi, eft cur in-  
grati animi reos nos accufes. Velim permittas ut vitii hujus turpiffimi labem a Bibliothecæ  
noftre Curatoribus quam per me fieri poteft, abftergam. Primo munere tuo fplendidiffimo  
per manus nobiliffimi ac eruditiffimi Valtraverfi nobis tradito, præfes nofter mihi in man-  
data dedit, ut eidem viro doctiffimo, velut in pignus animi grati traderem catalogum noftre  
Bibliothecæ, duobus tomis in forma quam vocant octavam impreffum, ufque dum con-  
felfu curatorum habito, publicæ tibi gratiarum actiones mitterentur literis exaratae. Officium  
hoc paulo poft demandatum fuit cuidam ex collegis noftis, qui amicitiae vinculis maxime  
conjunctus erat cum eruditiffimo Valtraverfio. Fatum vel fors quædam voluit, ut idem  
Weiffius in negotiis publicis per annum integrum a nobis abeffe juberetur, quo factum  
eft, ut hoc grati animi officium facrum oblivioni fuerit datum, ufque dum idem multis no-  
minibus amantiffimus Valtraverfius aures noftas iteratis vicibus vellicaret ut officio noftro  
fatisfaceremus, ne ipfe tandem ingratus erga te videretur. Quo evenit, ut pudore  
plenus huic officio aliquatenus his literis fatisfaciam, Tibique, vir illustriffime ac generose,  
fummas

summas reddam gratias, utinam quodam modo tibi gratas, pro insigni quo Bibliothecam nostram exornare voluisti beneficio, sub claro Marvelli, libertatis olim amici ac statoris nomine.

Intimus hic libertatis, et cum ea conjunctus literarum artiumque sensus et amor optima est et erit gratiarum remuneratio, quippe nomine tuo anxie nos latente nulla gloriæ species in te redundare potest.

Haud ingratum interea speramus tibi fore, si te certiores faciamus, quod munus hocce tuum an splendidum magis ac fere regium, nescio, quam suo genere rarissimum singulari loco positum et nomini tuo dicatum, alios, quin imo ex ipsa jesuitarum familia quosdam excitavit, ut libris ac tractatibus pro defensione si defensionis locus conceditur, hujus societatis nos donaverint, quodque nos impulit ut quos veteres colligere dabatur libros fata et mores hujus societatis spectantes huic collectioni adjunxerimus, adeoque munificentia tua primam præbuerit ansam, subsidiumque præstantissimum nobis largita sit ad condendam Bibliothecam Iesuiticam suo genere raram, ex qua posteriores nostri et multum commodi et jucunditatis haurire possunt.

Salvum re, vir illustrissime, generose, factumque conservet divinum numen! Teque porro constituat vindicem libertatis, bonarumque artium ac scientiarum ad generis humani salutem et securitatem facientium! Nos interea tuæ benevolentiae commendatos habere velis, maximopere petimus, rogamus.

Nomine et auctoritate  
Bibliothecæ Civicæ Thuricensis  
Curatorum  
Gasparus Hessius Bibliothecarius.

N° XIV. [by mistake omitted.]

The following Dedication of Moreland's to Oliver Cromwell was by mistake omitted in its proper place.

The Author's Epistle Dedicatory  
To his most Serene HIGHNESS  
O L I V E R,

By the Grace of GOD, Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

WHEN I consider the great presumption of the age we live in, and how even the meanest writers think it an undervaluing to their works if they have not the greatest Princes for their patrons. I am loth to press in with the crowd, to importune your Highness, by a dedication of the following history. But when I call to mind how exceeding precious in your thoughts the lives and liberties of those poor distressed members of CHRIST have been (who are the only subject of my discourse) and how deeply their bleeding condition hath always affected your very heart, I cannot but hope you will vouchsafe to own the weak endeavours (though the unworthiest of your servants) for preserving the name and memory of those antient and primitive professors to future generations: especially considering that my design therein is very subservient to that great end which you have proposed to yourself ever since Providence blessed these three nations with your happy government; namely, the promoting of the general interest of GOD's people throughout the Christian world. It is an observation of that excellent prince the Duke of Rohan, that the interest of the chief magistrate of England is by all means to become head of the reformed party throughout Europe; and it is your Highness's glory and crown that you have formed all your counsels in order thereunto; and, laying aside all other reasons of state, have adhered only to this, that your own interest may appear one and the same with the universal interest of the evangelical churches in their respective nations. The piety of which resolution the LORD himself hath borne witness to, by a continued series of wonderful providences, and heavenly benedictions that have always accompanied you in your most honorable and heroic enterprises: whereas those other princes that went before you, who had little regard in the administration of their government, either to the honest maxims of humane policy, or to wholesome rules of the holy scriptures (which they ought to have bound about their necks, and to have graven upon the tables of their hearts) but miserably spent the best of their powerful interests, and precious talents, in persecuting tender consciences in their own dominions, and most treacherously betraying the Protestant cause in Germany, France, and other countries, did, at last, to their great astonishment, even in the height of those



those their oppressors, and in the midst of all their jollities, behold with their eyes a MENE TEKEL upon the walls of their palaces and banqueting-houses, and of late years in all the branches of their families, have tasted the bitter fruits of their own unrighteous doings. This is a doom which was long since pronounced against them by the most pious pastors and professors of foreign churches, who oft times heretofore have been heard to say, "That God would one day render a recompense to that house for all their perfidious dealings towards his poor servants;" and now many of these godly men, who have lived the execution of those his righteous judgements, considering, on the other side, the wonderful passages of Divine Providence leading the way to the extirpation of that family, and to the placing your Highness in the princely dignity, have of late frequently declared (as I myself have been divers times an ear-witness) with tears of joy in their eyes, "That they looked on you as a man miraculously raised up by God, and endowed with an extraordinary spirit of wisdom and courage, to plead the cause of his afflicted ones against the mighty, that they may no more oppress."

Who is there so ignorant in these our days who knows not that all the peace, tranquillity, and privileges, which those of the Reformed Religion enjoy at present in any part of the European world, does some way or other owe your Patronage and Protection? And who is there likewise who knows not that when first you were called forth in the view of the world, and singled out as a chosen instrument, to go forth to the help of the Lord against the mighty, and to fight his battles against the great persecutors, the estate and conditions of the church-militant, was at a very low ebb. The mighty floods of popery and atheism were broken in upon the Isles of Great Britain and Ireland, and the poor Protestants in all other parts were even sinking down under the heavy burdens laid upon their shoulders by those cruel task-masters of the church of Rome; yea, the plowers were almost every where plowing and making long furrows upon the backs of the faithful ones in all the quarters and corners of their habitations! It was a time when the enemies of the Lord took craftily counsels together against his people, and were confederate against his hidden ones (the tabernacles of Edom and Ishmaelites, Amaleck and the Philistines, with them that dwell at Tyre) they said one to the other, "Come, and let us cut them off from being a people, that so their name may be had no more in remembrance." And the truth is, they had undoubtedly compassed their hellish designs, had not the Shepherd of Israel awoken as a man out of sleep, and found out a man (I mean your Highness) to stand in the gap, girding you with strength unto the battle, and putting his own sword into your hand, to smite those his enemies in the hinder parts, and to put them to a perpetual reproach.

The Spaniard, that old enemy of England and Religion, is sufficiently able, even already to give the world a very clear account of the blessed fruits and happy success of your noble and princely undertaking, for here indeed you seemed to lay the axe to the root of the tree, when that antient quarrel revived again, which had lain asleep even since the days of Queen Elizabeth of glorious memory; that Princess looking upon this branch of

the house of Austria as the main pillar of the Romish power and persecution, did set her whole shoulder to the work of overturning it, in hopes to have put an end to the great mystery of iniquity and tyranny exercised upon the bodies and consciences of mankind. But the measure of their iniquity being not yet filled up, she was not permitted by God to accomplish her design: and now, after the long reigns of two unhappy kings, the martial spirit and renown of our nation being raised again, under the auspicious name and councils of your Highness, equal to the best and most victorious of our ancestors, all things seem to work as if the final accomplishment of what she intended were reserved for your triumph and trophies. You have, with your naval forces, in a manner, held him shackled, and shut him up within his own dominions for several years. In a word, his treasures are almost exhausted, and the veins which should supply him are intercepted, besides, in credit, he is almost become a bankrupt; so that if it please the Almighty to crown your endeavours with a few more successes, a fair stroke will be given in a short time for excluding him from any considerable interest or influence in these North parts of the world. The fear of this is that which made him of late betake himself to the same ignoble practices and attempts, by assassination, and plotted insurrections against the person and government of your Highness, as he practised of old against the person and government of that renowned Queen. But as God was graciously pleased to make her fortunate in the discovering and apprehending such assassins and traitors from time to time, and continue her in a long and prosperous being, so your Highness, having hitherto been no less remarkably happy in having alway your eyes as it were miraculously enlightened, by the God of Light and Truth, to foresee the mischief, and pass by, while the intended actors thereof have happily perished upon the point of their own swords, and fallen headlong into that very pit of destruction which they had digged for others, we are encouraged to hope that the same God will vouchsafe to us this great blessing, that you likewise may long sway the sceptre of these nations, and go in and out before us, for the perfecting of those blessed purposes which he has put into your heart for the good of his people, both here and in foreign parts; that so you may (as you have done upon all occasions) deliver the poor that cry, and the fatherless, and him that hath none to help him! that you may continue to be eyes to the blind, and feet to the lame! to break the jaws of the wicked, and to pluck the prey out of his teeth! to loose the heavy burden, and to let the oppressed go free! Though your Highness delights more to do these things than to hear them, yet give me leave to tell you, that these your actions of mercy and righteousness are the true walls and bullwarks of these your islands! these are the very weapons wherewith you have so often run through a troop, and broken the gates of brass, and cut the bars of iron in sunder! Yea, I am bold to add, that the blessings of the poor Waldenses, which were ready to perish, together with that of the Polonian and Bohemian exiles, is already visibly come upon you, and had no small influence in all your late successes. May the God and FATHER of mercies still go on to open the treasures of his grace, and rain down his blessings upon your princely person and pious undertakings, for  
the

the honour of his great name, and the good of his poor afflicted church and people ! for which end and purpose all honest and true-hearted English souls ought to bow their knees daily to the FATHER of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, that so (if it be his good pleasure, that our eyes shall see those happy days) the glory of his gospel may, by your means, be more highly advanced ; and that the top-stone of that heavenly-building being at last laid, all the people may cry “ Grace, Grace, unto it ! ” This is the unfeigned prayer of,

YOUR HIGHNESS'S

Most humble and most respectful subject and servant,

SAMUEL MORLAND.

Nº LXXVI.

The following Extracts were found in Mr. Hollis's own hand-writing, in the blank leaves of his copy of Milton's *Iconoclastes* ; and in that form are given to the public.

THIS doctrine (that of bridling Kings) was so authentic in those days, and after times, that in the great council of Basil, anno 1431. when this mighty question was debated, Whether a Pope was above a general council, or a council above him ? such a council was at last resolved to be above the Pope : upon this reason, among others, the Pope is in the church as a King is in his kingdom ; and for a King to be of more authority than his kingdom, it were too absurd ; *ergo*, neither ought the Pope to be above the church. In every well-ordered kingdom it ought especially to be desired, that the whole realme should be of more authority than the King ; which, if it happened contrary, were not to be called a kingdom, but a tyranny. And like as often times Kings, which do wickedly, govern the common-wealth, and express cruelty, are deprived of their kingdoms ; even so it is not to be doubted but that the Bishop of Rome may be deposed by the church, that is to say, by the general council. At the beginning (as Cicero, in his *Offices*, saith), it is certain there was a time when as the people lived without kings. But afterwards, when lands and possessions began to be divided, according to the custom of every nation, then were kings ordained, for no other causes but only to execute justice ; for when, at the beginning, the common people were oppressed by rich and mighty men, they ran by and by to some good and virtuous man, who should defend the poor from injury, and ordain laws, whereby the rich and poor might dwell together. But when as yet, under the rule of Kings, the poor were oftentimes oppressed, laws were ordained and instituted, the which should judge, neither for hatred nor favour, and give like ear unto the poor as rich : whereby we understand and know, not only the people, but also the King, to be subject to the law.

For



For if we do see a King to contemn and despise the laws, violently rob and spoil his subjects, deflower virgins, dishonour matrons, and do all things licentiously and temerariouſly, do not the nobles of the kingdom aſſemble together, depoſing him from his kingdom, ſet up another in his place, who ſhall ſwear to rule and govern uprightly, and be obedient unto the laws? Verily, as reaſon doth perſuade, even ſo doth the uſe thereof alſo teach us. It ſeemeth alſo agreeable unto reaſon that the ſame ſhould be done in the church, that is, in the council, which is done in any kingdom. And ſo is this ſufficiently apparent, that the Pope is ſubject unto the council. Thus the Biſhop of Burgen, ambaffador of Spain, the Abbot of Scotland, and Thomas de Corcellis, a famous divine, reaſoned in this council, which voted with them. Here we have a full reſolution of this great council (which the papists call a general one, being approved by the Greek and Roman Emperors, and moſt Chriſtian Kings and States, and ours among others :) that the kingdom in parliament aſſembled is above the King, as a general council is paramount to the Pope; which they manifeſt by five reaſons. Firſt, becauſe Kings were firſt created and inſtituted by their kingdoms and people; not their kingdoms and people by them. Secondly, becauſe they were ordained only for their kingdoms and peoples ſervice and welfare; not their kingdoms and people for them. Thirdly, becauſe their kingdoms and people, as they at firſt created, ſo they ſtill limit and confine their royal juriſdiction by laws, to which they are and ought to be ſubject. Fourthly, Becauſe they oblige them, by a ſolemn oath, to rule according, and to be obedient unto, the laws. Fifthly, Becauſe they have power to depoſe them in caſe they contemn the laws, and violently rob and ſpoil their ſubjects.

Prynne's Treachery and Diſloyalty of Papiſts to their Sovereigns, 2d edit. p. 5, 6.  
with all the proofs cited in the margin.

The King of England cannot alter nor change the laws of his realme at his pleaſure; for why, he governeth his people by power, not only royal, but politique. If his power over them were royal only, then he might change the laws of his realme, and charge his ſubjects with tallage and other burthens, without their conſent; and ſuch is the dominion the civil laws purport, when they ſay, the Prince's pleaſure hath the force of a law. But this much differeth the power of a King whoſe government over the people is politique; for he can neither change the law, without the conſent of his ſubjects, nor yet charge them with ſtrange impoſitions againſt their will. Wherefore his people do frankly and freely enjoy and recover their own goods, being ruled by ſuch laws as themſelves deſire.

Fortſcue de Laud. Legum Angl. c. ix.

And Hieronimus Blanca aſſures us, that the Suprarbienſe Forum, Juſtitia Aragoniac, or States of Aragon (erected to withſtand the tyranny and encroachments of their Kings) may, by the laws of their realme, aſſemble together, and reſiſt their King with force of arms, as oft as there ſhall be need to repulſe his, or his officers, violence againſt the laws. For when they erected this court they ſaid, "It would be little worth to have good laws enacted,  
and

and a middle court of justice between the King and people appointed, if it might not be lawful to take up *arms* for their defence when it was needful; (being agreeable to the very law of nature and reason;) because then it will not be sufficient to fight with council; for if this were not so, and the state and subjects in such cases might not lawfully take up arms, all things had long ere this been in the power of kings. Therefore, no doubt, our parliament and state, as well as others, may, by the very law of nature, and fundamental institution of parliaments, now justly take up defensive arms to preserve their liberties, laws, lives, estates, religion, from vassalage and ruin.

Arragonensium Rerum Comment. p. 724.

For the Barons, Knights, and Commons, with their whole army being met together in London, which joined with them to gain this charter from the King, sent from thence letters to all the Earls, Barons, and Knights, throughout England, (who seemed, though but feignedly) to adhere to the King, exhorting them with this commination: That, as they loved indemnity of their goods and possessions, they should desert a perjured King; and, adhering faithfully to them, should with them inviolably stand, and effectually contend for the liberties and peace of the kingdom: which, if they contemned to do, they would, with force of arms, and banners displayed, march against them as public enemies, subvert their castles, burn their houses and edifices, and not cease to destroy their ponds, parks, and orchards. Whereupon all the Lords, Knights, and People, deserting the King, who had scarce seven Knights in all left with him, confederated themselves to the Barons in the common cause. Whereupon the King [John] thus deserted by all, condescended speedily to their demands, and confirmed the great charter, much against his will.

Matthew Paris Hist. p. 243 to 255.

In all these matters the wisdom of a sage King sufficeth; for if he be a just Prince, he knoweth what he may do, and not do, both by God's laws and man's. To be short in my opinion, of all the Seniorities in the world that I know, the realme of England is the country where the commonwealth is best governed, the people least oppressed, and the fewest buildings and houses destroyed in civil warre, and always the lot of misfortune falleth upon them that be the authors of this war. Our King is the Prince in the whole world that hath the least cause to alledge that he hath privileges to levy what he listeth upon his subjects, considering, that neither he nor any other prince hath power so to do; and those that say he hath do him no honor, neither make him to be esteemed any whit the mightier prince thereby, but cause him to be hated and feared of his neighbours, who for nothing would live under such a government. But if our King, or those who seek to magnifie and extoll him, should say, I have so faithful and obedient subjects that they deny me nothing I demand; and I am more feared, better obeyed, and better served, than any other prince living; they endure patiently whatsoever I lay upon them, and soonest forget all charges past:

This,

This, methinks, nay, I am sure, were greater honor to the King, than to say, I levy what I list, and have privilege so to do, which I will stoutly maintain.

Philip de Comines, l. v. c. 18.

“ And Samuel told all the words of the LORD unto the people that asked of him a King.  
 “ And he said, This will be the manner of the King that shall reign over you : He will take  
 “ your sons, and appoint them for himself for his chariots, and to be his horsemen ; and  
 “ some shall run before his chariots. And he will appoint him captains over thousands, and  
 “ captains over fifties ; and will set them to ear his ground, and to reap his harvest, and to  
 “ make his instruments of war, and instruments of his chariots. And he will take your  
 “ daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers. And he will take  
 “ your fields and your vineyards, and your olive-yards, even the best of them, and give them to  
 “ his servants. And he will take your men-servants, and your maid-servants, and your goodliest  
 “ young men, and your asses, and put them to his work. He will take the tenth of your sheep ;  
 “ and ye shall be his servants. And ye shall cry out in that day because of your King which  
 “ ye shall have chosen you ; and the LORD will not hear you in that day.”

1 Sam. viii. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

So that this is manifest, a magistrate actually dispossessed hath no right to be restored, nor the subject any obligation to seek to restore, but oppose him. For, what is man, or rather mankind (for so we have stiled a nation) better than a herd of sheep or oxen, if it be to be owned like them by masters ? What difference is there between their master's selling them to the butcher, and obliging them to venture their lives and livelihoods for his private interest ? We know it is natural that the part should venture for the whole ; but that the whole should venture the loss of itself to save the part, I cannot understand. The governour is the highest and noblest part ; the people is the whole, the end (though not by office, yet by worth and dignity) the Master and Lord, for whom those who are Lords by office are to be vested and divested in Lordship, *When it is necessary for the common good, who think otherwise, deserves not the name of man.*

The Grounds of Obedience and Government, by Thomas White, Gentleman,  
 (a Benedictine Fryer) London, 1655. edit. 2. in 12mo.

If I may believe history, this king [C. I.] was more beloved, honoured, and obeyed, than any of our Kings before him, and yet a Prince that raised and wasted more treasure, wilfully spilt more innocent blood, divested more the lands and habitations of his subjects, ruined more families, and more embroiled this gallant nation, than any since the coming in of the Norman race ; and yet he lived a saint, and died a martyr, and (if you please) of blessed memory.

Ahab's Evil, cont. a secret hist. of the Stuarts ; being a Smart Sermon,  
 printed in 1720, by Mr. Clark, of Shadwell, a dissenting minister.

And



And if saying that he died a martyr made him such, then the Duke of Monmouth 1660 was the same; for he died with the same words in his mouth which his grandfather King Charles had used before. King Charles the Second seems to have had no such opinion of the matter; for when a certain Lord reminded his Majesty of his swearing in common discourse, the King replied, "Your Martyr swore more than ever I did."

Watson's Apology for his conduct on Jan. 30. p. 24, printed in 8vo, 1756.

As for my calling those at London a parliament, I shall refer thee to Digby for particular satisfaction; this in general: if there had been but two (besides myself) of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a parliament; upon which condition and construction I did it, and no otherways; and accordingly it is registered in the council-books, with the council's unanimous approbation.

The King's Cabinet opened, pages 4 and 5; being a letter from the K. to the Q.

From the manner in which the King governed for fifteen years, one cannot but be convinced that he intended to alter the government, and procure for himself and successors a power much more extensive than what was allowed him by the laws, and to which none of his predecessors, except Richard the Second, had ever pretended. I except not even Henry the Eighth, the most absolute of all the Kings of England since William the Conqueror. But there was this difference betwixt Henry the Eighth and Charles the First, Henry did whatever he pleased, by way of parliament; whereas Charles pretended to rule without parliaments.

Rapin, vol. XI. p. 112.

A man shall not unprofitably spend his contemplation, who considers, on this occasion, the method of God's justice, a method terribly remarkable in many passages, that the same principles, and the same application of those principles, should be used to the wresting all sovereign power from the crown, which the crown had a little before made use of for the extending its authority and power beyond its bounds, to the prejudice of the just rights of the subject.

Clarendon, vol. II. p. 542.

Some of them (the King's ministers) drove so fast, that it was no wonder the wheels and chariot broke: and it was in great part owing to the indiscreet zeal of a misled head [Bp. Laud] that had got an ascendant over his master's conscience and councils, that both the monarchy and hierarchy owed afterwards their fall.

Welwood's Memoirs, p. 35.

When once Kings may impose duties as they think fit, there is an end of liberty.

Le Clerc, on Clarendon's History, page 21.

That petitions against such commands (the paying of ship-money) were not to be received; and whereas you speak of precedents, you shall know that the precedents in former times were obedience, not direction, and that there are also precedents of punishments of those that disobeyed his Majesty's commands.

An Answer by Order of Council to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty, of London, petitioning the King for an abatement of the heavy number of ships exacted from them. Echard, p. 459.

It was voted (in the important debate on the case of Mr. Rolls) that the seizing his goods was a breach of privilege. The Speaker being called upon to put the question proposed, said, "He durst not; for the King had commanded the contrary." The house, in some disturbance, adjourn to a day; being then met again, they with the Speaker to put the former question; he refused, and said, "He had a command to adjourn the house."

Whitlock, page 12.

Gellibrand, the mathematical professor, was prosecuted for publishing an almanack, in which the names of protestant martyrs were inserted out of Fox's Calendar, instead of those pretended saints whom the Pope had canonized: but, at the same time, the Archbishop's Chaplain licensed, without scruple, a scandalous book, in which the first reformers, who sealed their religion with their blood, were stigmatized with the odious names of traitors and rebels.

Benner's Memor. p. 233.

Lenthal, a member of the very House of Commons which restored King Charles the Second, having said in that House, "That he that first drew the sword against the late King, "committéd as great an offence as he that cut off his head," was brought upon his knees at the bar of the house, and there severely reprimanded by the Speaker; who declared it as the sense of the house, "That those who drew the sword did it to bring delinquents to "punishment, and to vindicate their just liberties; and that Mr. Lenthal's words are an "high reflection upon the justice and proceedings of the Lords and Commons in their "actings before, 1648."

Chillingworth's Life, p. 301.

To conclude. Having, from a series of most clear and incontestable facts, and from the suffrage of the most authentic historians of those times, attempted an idea of the character and reign of King Charles the First; I only add: Will it not extremely astonish posterity to find the memory of this Prince still celebrated in the English nation with the highest honors and applause! to see a yearly tribute of incense offered up to his name in the most holy places of the kingdom! to hear him almost adored as a royal and blessed martyr; extolled far above all the princes that ever filled the British throne; pronounced not the best of Kings only, but the most excellent of men; and a parallel often run betwixt his sufferings and the Son of God's! yea his treatment represented as, in some respects, more barbarous,

barous, iniquitous, and vile, than that of our blessed LORD ! Strange that the English nation, who glory in their constitution as a limited monarchy, who have always been extremely jealous of any incroachments upon it, and who dethroned, by force of arms, and banished the son for less breaches of the constitution than were made by the unhappy father, should yet stigmatize that just war of the parliament with Charles the First with the odious name of a Rebellion ! a war by which alone their expiring liberties were preserved, and their beloved constitution snatched from the cruel arm of oppressive and arbitrary power.

Towgood's Essay towards attaining a true Idea of the Character and Reign  
of King Charles the First.

After his Majesty's death the episcopal clergy did all they could to canonize him for a martyr ; they printed his sayings, his prayers, his meditations, and forms of devotion, under his sufferings, and drew his portrait in the most devout and heavenly attitude. His works, consisting of sundry declarations, remonstrances, and other papers, have been published, in a most pompous and elegant form ; among which one is of very suspected authority, if not absolutely spurious, I mean his Eikon Basiliké, or the Portraiture of his sacred Majesty, in his solitude and sufferings, said to be written in the King's own hand. It was first printed in the year 1649, and passed through fifty editions in divers languages within twelve months. No book ever raised the King's reputation so high as this, which obliged the new council of state to employ the celebrated Milton to destroy its credit ; which he attempted, in a treatise, under the title of Eikonoclastes, or an answer to a book, entitled Eikon Basiliké, printed by Du Garde, 1649. but the fraud was not fully detected till some years after.

Neal's Hist. of Puritans, 2d edit. in 4to, p. 369.

Here then I fix my foot, and will maintain it against all the champions of passive obedience, that the late King [James the Second] for many years past has had no right at all to the duties enjoined by St. Paul in the xiii<sup>th</sup> of the Romans, and that he has been an out-cast from that text ever since he was an out-law to the English constitution : that from the time he turned aside to a course of injustice, he has not been the minister of God, but, as Bracton expressly says, the minister of the devil ; nor has he been one of St. Paul's higher powers ; for the power of a King of England is *poteslas juris, non injuriæ*, a power of doing right, not of doing wrong ; and consequently there was not a soul subject to him, or that owed him non-resistance ; that he was so far from being the ordinance of God, that he dissipated and destroyed that ordinance, which is the legal constitution, as Melancthon truly affirms ; and lastly, that all this while, amongst his other usurpations, he usurped the name of a King, which did not belong to him ; for governing by law is the essence of an English King, and where there is arbitrary government there is no King, says Bracton ; he loses the name of a King, says the xvi<sup>th</sup> chapter of the Laws of King Edward the Confessor.

Samuel Johnson's Reflections on the History of Passive Obedience,  
folio, printed in K. William's time.



Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am now the instrument to present unto you a very short (but a very sharp) bill: such as these times, and *their sad necessities have brought forth*. It speaks a free language, and makes a bold request. It is a purging bill. I give it you as I take physic, not for delight, but for a cure. A cure now, *the last and onely cure*, if, as I hope, all other remedies have first been tried. Then *immedicabile vulnus*, &c. But *cuncta prius tentanda*. I never was for ruin so long as I could hold any hope of reforming. My hopes that way are even almost withered. The bill is intituled, “An Act for the utter abolishing “and taking away of all Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors, and Commissaries, “Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Chanters, and Canons, and “all their under officers.” Sir, you see their demerits have exposed them *Publici odii piaculars victimas*, &c.

A Collection of Speeches made by Sir Edward Dering, in Matter of Religion, quarto, 1642.

But the most remarkable letter of the King to him was written wholly in cypher, July 20, the same year, which is inserted in Latin in the Nuntio's memoirs, and in Italian in Vittorio Siri's Mercurio. Glamorgan.

If you can raise a large Sum of money by pawning my kingdoms for that purpose, I am content you should do it; and if I recover them I will fully repay the money. And tell the Nuncio, that if once *I can come into his and your hands*, which ought to be extremely wished for by you both, as well for the sake of England as Ireland, since all the rest, as I see, despise me; *I will do it*. And if I do not say this from my heart, or if in any future time I fail you in this, may God never restore me to my kingdoms in this world, nor give me eternal happiness in the next! &c.

Dr. Birch's Inquiry into the Share which King Charles the First had in the Transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan, edit. 2, p. 244, 245.

Besides, to shew his respect unto them, I know he obliterated, with his own hand, the word *Irish Rebels*, and put in *Irish Subjects*, in a manuscript discourse, written by Sir Edward Walker, and presented unto him, which I have seen of the *Irish Rebellion*.

Lilly's Monarchy or no Monarchy in England.

London, printed 1651, in quarto, p. 105.

Speaking of Government, he cited the Arcadia. Princes are to remember whom they govern: men, rational creatures, who soon scorn at follies, and repine at injuries: adding of his own, that it was an unparalleled arrogance and fanaticism in any one man to believe, that God from eternity had appointed all creatures for his pleasure, men for his ambition, women for his lust; and that the doctrine of *Preces et Lacrymae* ought to be discretely handled, lest the people believe they made themselves slaves, when they became Christians;

tians; and lest princes should so far mistake as to believe their subjects made up of knees and eyes, and *no hands*.  
Memorable Sayings of Mr. Hobbes.

And since it pleased God who separated me from the womb to the knowledge and service of the gospel of his Sonne, to separate me also to this hard and difficult service at this time, and to single me out *to the defence and justification of his cause*, I could not consent, by any words or actions of mine, that the innocent blood that hath been shed in the defence of it throughout the whole war, *the guilt and moral evils of which must certainly lie somewhere*, did lie at my door, or at theirs that have been the faithful adherents to this cause, which is with such evidence upon my heart, that I am most freely and chearfully willing to put the greatest seal to it I am capable, which is the pouring out my very blood in witness to it.

Sir Henry Vane's intended Speech on the scaffold; in quarto, 1662, p. 3.

To which also (besides the late declarations of this parliament, and the petition of right) may be added, the learned arguments of those grave and honourable judges; to whom we shall ever owe so much, for standing up *in an evil day for truth*, and common justice; in the great case of ship-money; Sir Richard Hutton, Sir George Crook, and Sir John Denham; with the truly noble Oliver St. John Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. Their arguments are now in print, by public command.

Rights of the Kingdom, quarto edit. 1649. p. 157.

When by consent of the whole people, or the better part of them, a tyrant is deposed, or put to death, God is the chief leader in that action.

Zuinglius, tom. I. art. 42.

The act for the militia being passed, the command of all the forces and garrisons settled on Monk, and the fleet in his power, in conjunction with Colonel Montague, the pretended parliament authorised their council of state to provide for the public safety on all emergencies, and to dispose affairs as they should think fit till the meeting of the next parliament. Which being done, and the house ready to pass the act for their dissolution, Mr. Carew, who had been as forward as any man in beginning and carrying on the war against the last King, moved, that before they dissolved themselves, they would bear their witness against the horrid murder, as he called it, of the King. This unexpected motion prevailed with many then present to deny their concurrence to that act against the King, though not to reflect in the same manner on those who had been concerned in it: and one of them concluding his discourse with protesting, that he had neither hand nor heart in that affair, Mr. Thomas Scot, who had been so much deluded by the hypocrisy of Monk, as I have already related, in abhorrence of that base spirit, said, That though he knew not where to hide his head at that time, yet he durst not refuse to own, that not only his hand, but his heart also, was in it: and after he had produced divers reasons to prove the justice of it, he concluded,

cluded, That he should desire no greater honor in this world, than that the following inscription should be engraved on his tomb: "Here lieth one who had a hand and a heart in the execution of Charles Stuart late King of England." Having said this, he, and most of the members who had a right to sit in parliament, withdrew from the house, so that there was not the fourth part of a quorum of lawful members present in the house, when the secluded members who had been voted out of the parliament by those that had an undisputed authority over their own members, undertook to dissolve the parliament, which was not to be done, unless by their own consent; and whether that consent was ever given is submitted to the judgement of all impartial men.

Ludlow's Memoirs, fol. edit. p. 329.

Being at my manor of Knoyle, I was much importuned by the inhabitants of the borough of Hindon, part of the said manor, to be one of their burgesses in the assembly that was to meet at Westminster. Though I durst not desire any to confer so great a trust on me, yet I confess it was no small contentment to me that they would manifest their respects to my person, and their remembrance of my services, whatsoever they had been, in such a conjuncture, when the cavalier party, with what design may easily be conjectured, had printed the names of the late King's Judges, of which I had the honor to be one.

The same, p. 332.

"O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself; but in ME is thy help. I will be thy King: Where is any other that may save thee in all thy cities? and thy judges, of whom thou saidst, give me a King and Princes? I gave thee a King in mine anger."

Hosea, chap. xiii. ver. 9, 10, 11.

No man ought to be greater than the King in the administration of justice; but he himself ought to be as little as the least in receiving justice, *si peccat*, if he offend.

Fleta, book I. cap. xvii.

The King of *England* can neither alter the laws, nor exact subsidies, without the people's consent; nor can any testimonies be brought from antiquity to prove the kingdom of England to have been merely regal.

Fortescue de Laudibus Legum Angliae.

There is ever, and in all places, a mutual and reciprocal obligation between the people and the prince; the one promiseth to be a good and wise prince; the other to obey faithfully, provided he govern justly. The people therefore is obliged to the prince under conditions: the Prince to the people simply and purely. Therefore if the Prince fail in his promise, the people is exempt from obedience, the contract is made void, the right of obligation of no force. Then the King, if he govern unjustly, is perjured; and the people likewise foresworn, if they obey not his lawful commands. But that people is truly acquit from



from all perfidiousness, which publicly renounce the unjust dominion of a tyrant, or lie striving unjustly, by strong hand, to continue the possession, do constantly endeavour to expulse him by force of arms.

Junius Brutus—*Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*, Engl. transl. fol. 1689, p. 136.

A lawful war being once undertaken with an enemy, and for a just cause, it is lawful, not only for the whole people to kill that enemy, but for every one of them. M. I acknowledge it. B. May not every one, out of the whole multitude of mankind, assault with all the calamities of war a tyrant who is a public enemy, with whom all good men have a perpetual war? M. I perceive all nations almost to have been of that opinion. For Thebe is usually commended for killing her husband; Timoleon for killing his brother; Cassius for killing his son, going to Catiline; and Brutus for killing his sons and kinsmen, when he found they had conspired to introduce tyranny again; and public rewards were appointed to be given, and honours instituted, by several cities of Greece, to those that should kill tyrants. So that they thought there was no bond of humanity to be kept with tyrants. But why do I collect the assent of some single persons, since I can produce the testimony almost of the whole world?

Buchanan, *de Jure Regni apud Scotos*.

During the whole course of this unnatural war, it was hard to divine what would be the fate of England; whether *an absolute unlimited monarchy*; a new huddled-up commonwealth, or a *down-right anarchy*. If the King should prevail, the first *was to be feared*; if the parliament, the second was to be apprehended; and if the army should set up for themselves, as afterwards they did, *the last was inevitably to follow*. All which some of the best men about the King wisely foresaw, and trembled at the event of every battle that was fought, whoever happened to be victors. *It was the dread of these misfortunes* that hindered the Lords and Commons, whom the King called to Oxford, to assume to themselves the name of the parliament of England, and from declaring those met at Westminster *Rebels*; though the King again and again importuned them to it; and took their refusal so ill, that in one of his letters to the Queen he called them in derision his mongrel parliament.

Welwood's Memoirs, p. 67, & seq.

Touching the righteousness of the sentence passed upon the King, doubtless never was any person under heaven sentenced with death upon more equitable and just grounds in respect of guilt and demerit. Goodwin's Defence of the honourable Sentence, p. 90.

I cannot confess any guilt: It is such a clause, that the martyrs would gladly come from heaven to suffer for, if they might. I look upon it as the most noble and high act of justice that our story can parallel. Cooke's Letter to a Friend from the Tower, p. 41.

The

The execution of the late King was one of the fattest sacrifices that ever Queen Justice had.  
Cooke's Monarchy no Creature of GOD's making, 1652. in the title.

But among all the laws and customs of this kind, there is none so remarkable as that of the Spaniards; who, when they *elect* a King in the *common council* of Arragon, in order to keep up a perpetual remembrance of their privileges, represent a kind of play, and introduce a certain personage, whom they call by the name of the *Law of Arragon*, whom, by a public decree, they declare to be greater and more powerful than their King; and afterwards they harangue the King (who is elected on certain terms and conditions) in words which, because of the remarkable virtue and fortitude of that nation in repressing the *unbridled will* of their Prince, we will here set down at length: "We who are of *as great value* as you, and *can do more* than you, do elect you to be our King, upon such and such conditions: between you and us there is *one of greater* authority than you."

Hottoman's Franco-Gallia, Lord Moleworth's Translation.

The time was, when this nation was wedded to the vanity of admiring Kings, placing them in a lofty seat of impunity like gods, that were not bound to give men an account of their actions, but had a liberty to thunder at pleasure, and put the world into combustion; so that there was no love but lust; no rule but the Prince's will; which so vassalized the spirits of this great and mighty people, that they were content to establish the highest piece of injustice by such maxims of law as said, "The King can do no wrong:" as if whatsoever he did could not make him a delinquent or traitor; nor was it law *only*, but *those antiquated cheats of the clergy too* made it pass for divinity; so that the commonwealth of England for almost six hundred years hath been pinioned like a captive, with the two-fold cord of the law and the gospel, which the corrupt professors have made use of after their own inventions. Yet notwithstanding that this glorious idol of royalty was elevated to such a height over the liberties of the parliament, and set upon the very pinnacle of the temple, we have lived to see a noble generation of English hearts, that have fetched it down with a vengeance, and cured the land of that idolatry, by one of the most heroic and exemplary acts of justice that ever was done under the sun.

Marchmont Nedham, in his Mercurius Politicus, N<sup>o</sup> 56. p. 886.

A King governing in a settled kingdom, leaves to be a King, and degenerates into a tyrant, as soon as he leaves off to rule according to his laws.—And a little after.—Therefore all Kings that are not tyrants, or perjured, will be glad to bound themselves within the limits of the laws. And they that persuade them the contrary, are vipers, pests, both against them and the commonwealth.

King James's Speech to his Parliament, 1609.

That I [Sir William Temple] never knew but one foreigner that understood England well, which was Gourville, (whom I know the King [C. II.] esteemed the soundest head of any

any Frenchman he had ever seen); that when I was at Bruffels, in the first Dutch war, and he had heard the people grew weary of it; he said, the King had nothing to do but to make the peace; that he had been long enough in England, seen enough of our court, and people, and parliaments; to conclude, *Q'un Roi d'Angleterre qui veut être l'homme de son peuple, est le plus grand Roi du Monde; mais s'il veut être quelque chose d'avantage, par Dieu il n'est plus rien.* The King [C. II.] heard me very attentively; but seemed a little impatient at first; yet at last he said, I had reason in all, and so had Gourville; and, laying his hand upon myne, he added, *Et je veux être l'homme de mon peuple.*

Temple's Works, fol. edit. 1731, p. 383, 384.

It is also said, that a minister, who hath married a Lady Laurence here at Chelsea, but now dwelling at Copenhagen, being there in company with you, said, "I think you were none of the late King's judges, nor guilty of his death," meaning our King. "Guilty!" said you, "Do you call that guilt? Why it was the justest and bravest action that ever was done in England or any where else."

Letter from Lord Leicester to his son Algernon Sidney, dated Aug. 30, 1660.

See Sidney on Government, edit. 3.

Wherever law ends, tyranny begins; if the law be transgressed to another's harm, and whosoever in authority exceeds the power given him by law, and makes use of the force under his command to compass that upon the subject which the law allows not, ceases in that to be a magistrate, and acting without authority, may be opposed as any other man, who by force invades the right of another.

Locke upon Government.

Rebellion being an opposition, not to persons, but authority, which is founded only in the constitutions and laws of the government; those, whoever they be, who by force break through, and by force justify, their violation of them, are truly and properly Rebels.

Locke upon Government, N° 226.

If those who by force take away the legislative, are rebels; the legislators themselves can be no less esteemed so, when they who were set up for the protection and preservation of the people, their liberties and properties, shall by force invade and endeavour to take them away; and so they putting themselves into a state of war with those who made them the protectors and Guardians of their peace, are properly, and with the greatest aggravation, Rebellantes, Rebels.

Idem, N° 227.

An inferior cannot punish a superior; that is true, generally speaking, whilst he is his superior; but to resist force with force, being the state of war that levels the parties, cancels all former relation of reverence, respect, and superiority; and then the odds that remains is, that he who opposes the unjust aggressor has this superiority over him, that he has a



right, when he prevails, to punish the offender, both for the breach of the peace, *and all the evils that followed upon it.*

Idem, N<sup>o</sup> 236.

Here, it is like, the common question will be made, who shall be the judge, whether the prince or legislative act contrary to their trust? This, perhaps, ill-affected and factious men may spread amongst the people, when the Prince only makes use of his due prerogative. To this I reply, *The People* shall be judge; for who shall be judge whether his trustee or deputy acts well, and according to the trust reposed in him. but he who deposes him; and must, by having deposed him, have still a power to discard him, when he fails in his trust? If this be reasonable in particular cases of private men, why should it be otherwise in that of the greatest moment, where the welfare of millions is concerned; and also where the evil, if not prevented, is greater, and the redress very difficult, dear, and dangerous?

Idem, N<sup>o</sup> 240.

Let all such who, either through interest or ignorance, are adorers of *absolute monarchs*, say what they please; *an English Whig* can never be so unjust to his country, and to right reason, as not to be of opinion, that in all civil commotions, which side so ever, if the wrongful aggressor, is accountable for all the evil consequences: and through the course of his reading (though my Lord Clarendon's books be thrown into the heap), he finds it very difficult to observe, that ever the people of England took up arms against their Prince but when constrained to it by a necessary care of their liberties and true constitution.—It is certainly as much a treason and rebellion against this constitution, and the known laws, in a Prince to endeavour to break through them, as it is in the people to rise against him, whilst he keeps within their bounds, and does his duty. *Our Constitution is a government of laws, not of persons.* Allegiance and protection are obligations that cannot subsist separately; when one fails, the other falls of course. The true etymology of the word loyalty, which has been so strangely wrested in the late reigns, is an entire obedience to the prince in all his commands, according to law; that is, *to the laws themselves*, to which we owe both an active and passive obedience.

Lord Moleworth's Preface to his Translation of Hottoman's *Franco-Gallia*, edit. 2.

At last James the First died, as many have believed, by poison, to make room for his son Charles the First. This King was a great bigot, which made him the darling of the clergy; but having no great reach of his own, and being governed by the priests (who have been always unfortunate when they have meddled with politics), with a true ecclesiastical fury, he drove on to the destruction of all the liberties of England. This King's whole reign was one continued act against the laws.—Then follows, a concise, just, and most masterly account of these violences.—And after.—It is endless to enumerate all the oppressions of his reign; but having no army to support him, his tyranny was precarious, and at last his ruin.

Trenchard's *Short History of standing Armies*, fol. 1698. p. 5, 6.

The

The reason why one private man must not kill another in society, even when he does that which deserves death, is, that in society no man must be his own judge, or take his own revenge; but the more equitable law must give it him; and there are judges established for that purpose. But if the offender set himself above the law, he leaves a right to the person injured to seek redress his own way, and as he can get it. Whoever puts himself into a state of war against me, gives me a right of war against him; and violence is a proper remedy for violence, when no other remedy is left.

Gordon, Cato's Letters, vol. II. p. 16.

But since the condition of the greatest men upon earth is subject to such *fatal catastrophes* as that was which this day brings to mind, I cannot but lament the unhappy fate of those princes who are born in purple, and bred in luxury, incompassed with flatterers, and so intoxicated with the gaudy ornaments of power, *as to forget the end for which they were elevated*, and made gods upon earth.

Mr. Stephens's Sermon before the Commons, Jan. 30, 1770.

If it be said, that although the parliament, which first opposed king Charles's measures, and at length took up arms against him, were not guilty of rebellion; yet certainly those persons were who condemned and put him to death; even this perhaps is not true. For he had, in fact, *unkinged* himself long before, and had forfeited his title to the allegiance of the people; so that those who put him to death were, at most, only guilty of murder; which indeed is bad enough, if they were really guilty of that (which is at least disputable). Cromwell, and those who were principally concerned in the (*nominal*) King's death, might possibly have been very wicked and designing men. Nor shall I say any thing in vindication of the reigning hypocrisy of those times, or of Cromwell's mal-administration during the Interregnum (for it is truth, and not a party, that I am speaking for). But still, it may be said, that Cromwell and his adherents were not, properly speaking, guilty of rebellion; because he whom they beheaded was not, properly speaking, their King; but a *lawless tyrant*.

Mayhew's Discourse on unlimited Submission, Jan. 30, 1770. at Boston.

By his illegal administration he brought himself into great distress, but had not the dexterity to extricate himself out of it; and he loved high and rough methods, but had neither skill or genius to conduct them; he hated all that offered prudent and moderate councils; and in his outward deportment never took any pains to oblige any one.

Burnet's Hist. of his Own Times, vol. I.

When the trial of the murderers of Sir Thomas Overbury was going forwards, the King went from Whitehall to Theobald's, and so to Royston; and having sent for all the judges, he kneeled down in the midst of his lords and servants, and used these words to the judges,

“ My Lords, I charge you, as you will answer it at the great and dreadful day of judgement, that you examine it [the poisoning of Overbury] strictly without favour, affection, or partiality ; and if you spare any guilty of this crime, God’s curse light upon you and your posterity ! and if I spare any that are guilty, God’s curse light on me and my posterity for ever ! ”

Sir A. Weldon, p. 93.

But our adversaries will by no means forgive the puritans, that they defended the laws of their country, though they were in no *mistake* at all, not so much as a *pious* one. And truly *herein we glory*, and, with our adversaries good leave, *reckon it will turn to our everlasting honour*, that our ministers undertook the vindication of the laws and liberties of their country. But the episcopal ministers were they who first attempted to persuade their countrymen to take upon their necks the servile yoke ; they were the men who first called the rights of our parliament in question ; they first preached up the absolute and unlimited power of our Kings, and paved a way to the most grievous tyranny of our princes, and the vilest servitude of the people. This was the course taken by Marwaring and Sibthorp, those *vile wretches* whose memory is become accursed to posterity. By this art they merited their preferment ; the former to a bishopric, the latter to a fat living. But it may perhaps be objected, these were private clergymen, and the whole body of the clergy is not to be reproached with the conduct of one or two particular persons. Let us then hear the representative bodies of the whole English clergy ; I mean the two convocations of Canterbury and York ; which, in the year 1640, declared themselves of the same opinion : “ The most high,” say they, “ and sacred order of Kings, is of divine right, being the ordinance of God himself, founded in the prime laws of nature, and clearly established by express texts both of the Old and New Testaments. A supreme power is given to this most excellent order by God himself in the Scriptures, &c.” If this were true, not only the several Commonwealths abroad, but our own parliaments here at home, would be contrary to divine institution. A little after they have this paragraph : “ For subjects to bear arms against their Kings, offensive or defensive, upon any pretence whatsoever, is at least to resist the powers which are ordained of God. And though they do not invade, but only resist, St. Paul tells them plainly, They shall receive to themselves damnation.” And afterwards the whole body of the clergy are required to preach this doctrine, or these *pious* mistakes as our author [Nichols] calls them. Hence our adversaries have used to boast, that this was the doctrine of the Church of England, and to triumph in it as a glory peculiar and appropriated to themselves. Nor were they therein in the wrong, or much envied by us. But when they saw occasion to act upon other principles, in the reign of King James II. they for shame ceased their clamors and reproaches upon that head for a considerable time, till toward the latter end of Queen Anne’s reign ; and then they renewed them with greater fury and madness than ever. Indeed since the happy accession of his present Majesty King George they have laid aside their doctrine again. So occasional are these Gentlemen in their opinions and practices.

Peirce’s Vindication of the Dissenters, 2d edit. p. 187, 188.

No



*No free people ever yet existed, that left its fate to the conscience of a Ruler; and with us it is a maxim, that the kingdom shall be ruled, "not by the King's conscience, but by the known laws."*

Extract of the Senate of Sweden's Journal of November, 1755, taken from a pamphlet, intituled, "The Dispute between the King and Senate of Sweden, in regard to the regal power and the Liberties of the people, printed, 1756.

The King's letters taken at Naseby were publicly read at London before a great assembly of citizens, where many of both houses of parliament were present; and leave was given to as many as pleased, or knew the King's hand (to refute the calumny of those who said the letters were counterfeit) to peruse them all, out of which a selected bundle were printed by command of parliament. From the reading of these letters many discourses of the people arose, for there appeared his transactions with the Irish Rebels, and with the Queen, for assistance from France, and the Duke of Lorraine; of which before is spoken. Many good men were sorry *that the King's actions agreed no better with his words; that he openly protested before God, with horrid imprecations, that he endeavoured nothing so much as the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the rooting out of popery; yet in the mean time under hand he promised to the Irish rebels an abrogation of those laws against them, which was contrary to his late expressed promises, in these words, I will never abrogate the laws against the papists: and again, I abhor to think of bringing foreign soldiers into the kingdom; and yet he solicited the duke of Lorraine, the French, the Danes, and the very Irish for assistance: they were vexed also that the King was so much ruled by the will of his wife, as to do every thing by her prescript; that peace, war, religion, and parliament, should be at her disposal.*

May's Breviary of the History of the Parliament of England, 12mo. 1650. p. 120, 121.

You stand charged with many villainous attempts to break the use of parliaments, and ridiculing that way of government. O, Sir, it was the more disliked by you, because it preserved liberty and property, which of all men in your day; *you most hated.* But you were *not the first man of figure* that hated parliaments; *for your father of ever-notorious memory hated them,* and therefore tried conclusions with parliaments for twelve years together. It is true he did call that blessed parliament in 1640, that would have redressed England's grievances, had they not been prevented by the factious spirits of some whose zeal was not according to knowledge. *Dr. Gauden* tells you, that your father called that parliament in November 3, 1640. "Not more by the advice of others, or by the necessity of his own affairs, *than by his own choice and inclination.*" I could expect no better *from a Baal's priest than to begin with a lie.* For what man that lived in that time knew not how the case stood with Charles the First? And besides, if I had not access to a King, yet I could discover his inclinations, either by those that were about him, and in favour with him, *or by the current of his actions;* all which, I say, testified to the world your father's strange aver-  
nests.

ness to a parliament. Those that were near him, and most in favour with him, *were courtiers, and rascally prelates, vermin*, whose chief study was to find out how he stood inclined, and to imitate him exactly; *and that which was his will, was their doctrine, concerning parliaments; and so it was with you.*

Oates's Eikon Basiliké, or the picture of the late King James, edit. 3, in quarto, part 3. p. 30, 31.

So that the Kings of England are in nothing inferior to other princes, save in being more abridged from injuring their own subjects; but have as large a field as any of external felicity, wherein to exercise their own virtue, and to reward and encourage it in others. In short, there is nothing that comes nearer the divine perfection than where the monarch, as with us, enjoys a capacity of doing all the good imaginable to mankind, under a disability to all that is evil.

An account of the Growth of Popery and arbitrary Government in England, printed first 1677, (by A. Marvell.)

All government is a trust. The dominion of one man over another is by consent, and is founded on covenant. All men are free by the law of nature to chuse what kind of government they think most convenient. And the positive law of God hath left it to their election. The nomination of the person, and the limitation of the power, is originally and radically in the community.

Conscience Satisfied, by Wilson, quarto, 1690.

And now we come to Milton's master-piece, his chief and favourite work in prose, for argument the noblest, as being the defence of a whole free nation, the people of England; for stile and disposition the most eloquent and elaborate, equalling the old Romans in the purity of their own language, and *their highest notions of liberty*; as universally spread over the learned world as any of their compositions, and certain to endure, while oratory, politics, and history bear any esteem among men. It cannot be denied, says that excellent critic Monsr. Baile, that Milton's Latin stile is easy, brisk, and elegant; *nor that he defended the republican cause with a world of address and wit*: agreeable to which judgement is the unanimous suffrage of foreigners, not excepting the most zealous asserters of monarchy.

Toland's Life of Milton, 8vo. 1699. p. 95.

Few kings, with Stephanus Battorius the King of Poland, do measure their actions not by their own profit, but the welfare of their country. There is a saying of his extant, worthy to express the bravery of his disposition: I will make the world, quoth he, understand how much a King chosen for virtue by the consent of a nation, is better than he whom right of succession thrusts upon the shoulders of an unwilling people.

Barclay's Mirror of Minds, Englished by Thomas May, 1633. 12mo. p. 304, 305.

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His

His Majesty, being ready to receive the sacrament from the hands of the Lord Archbishop Usher, at Christ-Church, in Oxford, rising up from his knees, and beckoning to the Archbishop for a short forbearance, said, "My Lord, I espy here many resolved Protestants, who may declare to the world the resolution I do now make. I have, to the utmost of my power, prepared my soul to be a worthy receiver. And may I so receive comfort by the blessed sacrament as I do intend the establishment of the true reformed protestant religion, as it stood in its beauty, in the happy days of Queen Elizabeth, without any connivance at Popery. I bless God, in the midst of these public distractions, I have still liberty to communicate! and may this sacrament be my damnation if my heart does not join with my lips in this protestation!" And the very next day was peace given to the bloody Irish-Rebels.

Oldmixon's History of England, during the Reigns of the Stuarts, p. 243.

My Lord, last week Mr. Bennet, the bookseller, left with me a manuscript of letters from King Charles I. to his Queen, and said it was your Lordship's desire, and Dr. Pelling's, that my Lord Rochester would read them over, and see what was *fit to be left out in the intended edition of them*. Accordingly, my Lord has read them over; and, upon the whole matter, says, he is very much amazed at the design of printing them, and thinks, *that the King's enemies could not have done him a greater discourtesy*. He shewed me many passages which *detract very much from the reputation of the King's prudence, and something from his integrity*; and in short, *he can find nothing throughout the whole collection but what will lessen the character of the King, and offend all those who wish well to his memory*. He thinks it very unfit to expose any man's conversation and familiarity with his wife, but especially that King's, for it was apparently *his blind side, and his enemies gained great advantage in shewing it*. But my Lord hopes *his friends will spare him*, and therefore he has ordered me *not to deliver the book to the bookseller*, but to put it into your Lordship's hands; and when you have read it, he knows *you will be of his opinion*. If your Lordship has not time to read it all, my Lord has turned down some leaves, where he makes his chief objections. If your Lordship sends any servant to town I beg you will order him to call here for the book, and that you would take care about it. Here is a hot discourse that the warrant is signed for my Lord Preston's execution. [This fixes nearly the time this letter was written, that is, between Jan. 17, 1690, and Feb. 16 following.] My Lord, I humbly beg your Lordship's blessing; and remain your most dutiful son and humble servant Charles Hickman.—To the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Rochester, at Bromley, in Kent.

Harleian Library of Manuscripts, 161. c. 13. fol. 189.

It is likewise advertised, that the Protestants in France complain much of an altar, which the Lord Scudamore hath caused *to be set up* in his chapel there, after the manner of the church of England, which being held *a great superstition* by the protestants there, they are much scandalized at it, and it is thought, it may hazard the interest your Majesty hath in that



that party, and thereupon *hath been* forborne by your Majesty's former ambassadors. This news *though it be of little consideration*, yet I thought it not impertinent to represent it to your Majesty. [In the margin, "In this I *cannot* find fault with my ambassador"].—I have also thought seriously upon the business of Capt. Brett, and do most humbly beseech your Majesty to give me leave to express my humble opinion thereupon with submission to your Majesty's wisdom. It is (if I mistake not) the greatest and most active employment your Majesty hath in foreign parts, and therefore requires a minister of some proportionable abilities. [I was somewhat surprized in this, therefore it may be that I was too hasty in the answer; but now that I have yielded to it, I cannot go back, upon trial of the man.] How then this gentleman, having ever been bred in another way, and by his own acknowledgment hath no Italian, nor ever was in Italy; but is a mere stranger to letters, or to any thing that hath relation to the pen, comes to venture upon this great service, I understand not; but do believe, if he did understand and consider it as he ought, he would not undertake it upon any conditions, unless *sa. Philips* [Note, Father Philips was confessor to the Queen, and the business here alluded to is a private embassy at Rome] (and I most humbly beseech your Majesty to vouchsafe a favourable and gracious interpretation of this conceipt) have recommended an ignorant man, and unequal to that service, industriously to destroy, and to render it of no use to your Majesty. I cannot imagine what other end he could have in this business. Besides, your Majesty hath hitherto vouchsafed me the honor to commit this negotiation only to my trust; and this correspondence is likely to be held with me alone, whether then it be for your Majesty's service that Philips should have more interest in the party employed than myself, and have more exact intelligence of many particulars that are to be treated of, and which will be utterly opposite to Philips his ways, and may be most pernicious to your Majesty's service for him to know, I most humbly beseech your Majesty to take into consideration. I shall humbly crave leave to instance in some particulars; namely, the negotiation concerning the oath of allegiance; to which I know Philips is not well-affected: and likewise concerning the bringing a catholic Roman bishop into England, which was the end of the Italian's coming hither from Rome; and to the effecting whereof Philips hath contributed all he could: the soliciting the Pope to censure Courtney, if not for his base and treasonable discourse, yet for publishing it without authority from thence, which I have reason to think Philips will hinder as much as he can: his endeavouring to discover the correspondencies and intelligences of the catholic Roman party here in England, and their ways, and his fomenting their schisms and differences here, which he must do, and that with great dexterity, if he serve your Majesty well, and yet must not communicate it to Philips, unless he mean to overthrow the service. These things an able man, well managed and instructed, may be brought to do, upon hopes that his faction may thereby receive advantage, whereas a man not versed in business will hardly be made capable of them, and will be upon the place three or four years before he understand the thing. And therefore I most humbly beseech your Majesty to weigh these circumstances deliberately; and seeing the Queen's Majesty (if I mis-remember not) was contented your  
Majesty

Majesty should make choice of the party, so he were approved by herself, to think upon any other that may be a man of business, that so I may not have to do with an ignorant person, or one in whom Philips shall have so much interest, as it shall be in his power to destroy the service. That this is a very honest gentleman I doubt not; *but honesty alone will not dispatch business, and of the two* (I speak as a secretary, and most humbly crave your Majesty's pardon) *honesty, in this Romish employment, may better be spared than sufficiency*: [ye say true; yet honesty makes his trial safe]. Leander, and those of his side, who do heartily affect your Majesty's service, and do all know it, and have repaired to me about it, are clearly of opinion, that this gentleman can do your Majesty no service at all. I most humbly beseech your Majesty to pardon my presuming thus far, and the length of these, and to vouchsafe me leave to rest your Majesty's most humble and faithful subject and servant.—Your Majesty is most humbly desired to burn these immediately; [this is better than burning; meaning the return]. It may please your Majesty to peruse the Earl of Lindsey's letter, herewith sent, and to vouchsafe me order for his return, according to his desire. [Fiat C. K.] Westminster, Oct. 7, 1635. Fran. Windebank.

Extract of "A remarkable Letter from Sir Fran. Windebank, one of the principal Secretaries of State to King Charles I. with his Majesty's answer to the principal parts of it, written in the margin with his own hand, and sent back the next day from Hampton-court, where the King then resided, faithfully transcribed from the original, in the Collections of Sir Peter Thompson, Knight; which letter was printed in the Gentleman's Magazine of February, 1755.

Thursday, Jan. 4, 1748. In a grand committee, to consider of the power of the Commons, *Resolved*, That the Commons of England assembled in Parliament do declare, *That the people, under God, are the original of all just powers*. They do likewise declare, That the Commons of England, assembled in Parliament, being chosen by, and representing the people, have the supreme authority of this nation. They do likewise declare, that whatsoever is enacted and declared law by the Commons of England, assembled in Parliament, hath the force of law, and all the people of this nation are included thereby, although the consent and concurrence of the King, and House of Peers, be not had thereto. These resolutions being reported to the house, the house put them one after another to the question, *and there was not one negative voice to any one of them*.—Then an ordinance for trial of Charles Stuart was again read and assented to, and ordered to be forthwith engrossed in parchment, and to be brought in to-morrow morning.

Rushworth, vol. VII. p. 1383.

It is the *Britannic constitution*, that gives this kingdom a lustre above other nations, for it is *imperium legum*; it equally advances the greatness and power of the crown, at the same time as it secures to Britons their private property, freedom, and liberty, by such

walls of defence as are not to be found in any other parts of the universe.—The British history transmits to us as many instances of great, rich, and victorious Kings, and as much beloved at home, and respected abroad, as are to be found in the memorials of any other nation; *but those Kings were such only as assembled their parliaments frequently, were advised by them, and made this constitution the rule of their government.*

Acherley's Britannic Constitution, in the dedication.

It is strange that the pilloring of some few, that the flitting of Bastwicke's and Burton's nose, the burning of Prinne's cheek, the cutting of Leightoun's ears, the scourging of Lilburne through the cittie, the close-keeping of Lincolne, and the murthuring of others by famine, cold, vermine, stinke, and other miseries, in the caves and vaults of the bishops houses of inquisition, should binde up the mouths of all the rest of the learned. England wont not in the dayes of hottest persecution, in the very *Marian* times, to be so scant of faithful witnesses to the truth of CHRIST. We cannot now conjecture what is become of that zeale to the true religion, which we are persuaded lyes in the heart of many thousands in that gracious kirk; *we trust indeed that this long-lurking, and too long silence of the saintes there, shall breake out at once in some hundreds of trumpets and lampes, shining and shouting, to the joy of all reformed churches, against the camp of these enemies to GOD and the King: that quickly it may be so, behold I here first, upon all hazards, doe break my pitcher, doe hold out my lampe, and blowe my trumpet before the commissioners of the whole kingdom, offering to convince that prevalent faction by their owne mouth of Arminianisme, Poperie, and tyrannie.*

The Canterburian's Self-conviction, quarto, 1640. in the preface; written by Mr. Robert Bailly.

Whosoever hath observed how the Sabbath was kept of late years at Whitehall, what busineses of monopolies, and other oppressions, were transacted in the afternoon, what kind of sermons in the forenoon, about state and prerogative, were preached before the King, he must needs believe, that none of these men had any design upon religion at all, neither indeed was there any reason wherefore to attaine those unjust ends they should desire a change of religion; for if we consider what religion will best serve to advance tyranny in the kingdome of England, and look into history for examples of that kind (for history hath been counted the best glasse through which prudence can look when she make her judgments upon humane actions) we shall finde *that Popery could not do it so well as that Protestant doctrine which hath been taught at court these thirty years; and not only preached, but printed to the public view by authority, even to this last year, 1644.* Consider what principles they maintaine, and against whom they write: *Their adversaries, whom they choose to deal withal, are all the modern authors of greatest learning and reason, and of all religions, whom in their writings they stile jesuits and puritans, under the latter of which names all the reformed churches of Europe are intended, except only the prelatial*



*prelatical clergie of England; to whom, it seems, in the point of flattery to princes, both papist and puritan, with all lawyers and political authors, are quite opposite. But before we express their tenets in particular, look into the English Chronicles, and you will find (as we said before) that direct poperie did not so much advance tyrannie as our late prelacie. When the Bishops of England had another head, which was the Pope, you may observe, that in matters of state they went many times very justly, and according to the interest of the whole commonwealth: in the times of seduced Kings, they many times sided with the parliament, and opposed the illegal desires of the Prince: many of them gave good advice to Kings, and did excellent offices in reconciling them to their people, and keeping them in their right way. I could give many instances, especially in three reigns, which indeed had the most need of such endeavours. But in these latter times our Protestant Bishops were wholly byassed at the King's side, and meer servants to the prerogative, against all interests of the commonwealth: they never in parliament gave vote contrary to any of the King's desires, how prejudicial soever it were to the kingdom in general, insomuch as the King thought them a sure part of his strength in the Lord's House, to all purposes: and when their voices in parliament were lately taken away, it was a common speech of the courtiers, that his Majesty was much weakened by losing six and twenty voices. But consider now what they have preached and printed concerning monarchy, and you will wonder that rational men in any kingdom, to flatter Princes, should make all mankind else of so base a consideration as if princes, (as one says) differed from other men in kinde and nature, no less than a shepherd from his sheep, or other herdsmen from his cattell. I will instance, for brevity and clearness, in one of them, who speaks the pith of all the rest, in a large book printed at Oxford this present year, 1644, and dedicated to the Marquis of Ormond; the book is intituled, *Sacrofancta Regum Majestas*, where the author undertakes to vindicate the power and majesty of Kings against all puritannical and jesuitical grounds and principles, as he calls them. These puritannical and jesuitical tenets are all discourses that have been written in this kingdom, for defence of the true and lawful liberties of men, or by any political author of note, since monarchies have been well, and civilly constituted for the behoof of mankind. Then he shews the tenets on both sides, &c.*

A Paradox, &c. in quarto, p. 6, 7. printed, London, 1644.

Wherever tyranny becomes exorbitant, and is not to be curbed by gentle methods; it cancels all the bonds of allegiance; self-preservation, whether natural or politic, being a thing that is indispensably necessary; for would it not be a pleasant thing, that one should load another with insufferable insolencies, trusting to this, that the injured person will not offer to defend himself, for fear, forsooth, of being thought disloyal, though at the same time he has no other way to remedy himself but by being so? For it is undoubtedly a much less fault to be unfaithful to a tyrant, than to establish a succession of tyrants by a tame obedience.

Extract from a Portuguese Historian mentioned by Geddes in his Church History of Ethiopia, p. 442.

*Kings, Princes, and Governors, have their autoritie of the people, as all lawes, usages, and policies, do declare and testifie. For in some places and countries they have more and greater autoritie, in some places lesse. And in some the people have not given this autoritie to any other, but retaine and exercise it themselves. And is any man so unreasonable to desire that the whole maie doe as muche as they have permitted one member to doe? or those that have appointed an office upon trust, have not autoritie, upon juste occasion (as the abuse of it), to take away that they gave? All lawes doe agree, that men may revoke their prexies and letters of attournaie when it pleaseth them; much more when they see their proctours and attournais abuse it. But now to prove the latter part of this question affirmatively, that it is lawfull to kill a tyrant, &c.*

A Shorte Treatise of Politike Power, and of the true Obedience which Subjects owe to Kinges and other Civil Governors, with an exhortation to all true Englishmen, compyled by D. I. P. B. R. W. 1556. 12mo. p. 104, 105.

For the same cause God commanded Moyfes to hang up all the captains and heads of the people; for that by their example they made the people idolaters also: *He had no respect to their authority, because they were rulers, but so much the rather would he have them so sharply punished, that is, hanged against the sunne without mercy. Which judgment, though it was done at God's commandment first, and after at Moyfes, yet were the people executors of the same, and all did understand that it was juste: and not for that time only, but to be a perpetual example for ever, and a sure admonition of their dutie in the like defection from God, to hang up such rulers as should draw them from him. And though it appear at the first sight a great disorder that the people should take upon them the punishment of transgression, yet when the magistrates, and other officers, cease to do their dutie, they are, as it were, without officers, yea worse than if they had none at all; and then God giveth the sword into the people's hands, and he himself is become immediately their head (yf they will seek the accomplishment of his lawes) and hath promised to defend and blefs them.*

How superior powers ought to be obeyed of their subjects, and wherein they may lawfully, by God's Worde, be disobeyed and resisted. By Christopher Goodman. Geneva, 1558. 12mo. P. 184, 185.

This doctrine of tyranny hath taken the deeper roote in mens minds, because the greatest part was ever inclined to adore the golden idol of tyranny in every form; by which means the rabble of mankind, being prejudiced in this particular, and having placed their corrupt humour or interest in base fawning, and the favour of present great ones; therefore if any resolute spirit happen to broach and maintain true principles of freedom, or do at any time arise to so much courage as to perform a noble act of justice, in calling tyrants to an account, presently he draws all the enmity and fury of the world about him. But in commonwealths it is and ought to be otherwise; for, in the monuments of the Grecian and Roman freedom we find, those nations were wont to heap all the honours they could invent, by public rewards,

rewards, consecrations of statues, and crowns of laurel, upon such worthy patriots; and, as if on earth all were too little, they inrolled them in heaven among the deities. And all this they did out of a noble sense of commonwealth-interest, knowing that the use of liberty consists in a strict hand and zeal against tyrants and tyranny, and by keeping persons in power from all the occasions of it; which cannot be better done than (according to the custom of all states that are really free) by leaving them liable to account; which happiness was never seen yet under the sun, by any law or custom established, save only in those states where all men are brought to taste of subjection as well as rule, and the government settled by a due succession of authority, by consent of the people.

The Excellencie of a Free State; or the Right Constitution of a Commonwealth,  
London, 1656, 12mo. p. 78, 79.

At length the house being come to themselves, before Mr. Speaker, the only debate of the day was about placing Deputy Lieutenants and Commoners for the militia in the several counties; about which there is often snarling and canvassing, it being the care of the faction (in spite of the moderate party) to put in base fellows, sectaries, and such as are against monarchy; as appears especially by those named for the county of Wilts at the request of Col. Ludlow. Among whom there is one Reid, a serving man, which I told you of last week; the debate of whom being resumed again this day, and it being alledged against him, and some of his fellows, that they were of no estates in the county, and that this Reid, for his part, had often declared himself against Kingly Power, saying *he thought this kingdom might be governed better without a King*: nevertheless the faction pleading strongly, that he and the rest were godly men, it was carried for them, as the peculiar people of God, *contra Gentes*.

Mercurius Pragmaticus, N° XX. (from Tuesday, Aug. 8. to Tuesday, Aug. 15, 1648.)

Then written by Marchamont Nedham; at that time a writer for the royal party.

Vota vestra et preces ardentissimas Deus, cum servitutis haud uno genere oppressi ad eum confugistis, benignè exaudivit. Quae duo in vita hominum mala sanè maxima sunt, et virtuti damnosissima, tyrannis et superstitione, iis vos gentium primos gloriosè liberavit; cum animi magnitudinem vobis injecit, ut devictum armis vestris et dedititium Regem judicio inclyto judicare, et condemnatum punire primi mortalium non dubitaretis. Post hoc facinus iam illustre, nihil humile aut angustum, nihil non magnum atque excelsum et cogitare et facere debebitis.

J. Miltoni Defensio pro Populo Anglicano.

But the King hath a Superior, to wit, God; also the law, by which he is made a King; likewise his court; namely, the Earls and Barons, because they are called Comites, as being the King's Fellows (or Companions); and he who hath a fellow (or associate) hath a master; and therefore if the King shall be without a bridle, that is, without law, they ought to impose a bridle on him, unless they themselves with the King shall be without bridle; and then



then the subject shall cry out and say, "O LORD JESUS CHRIST, do thou binde their jaws  
"with bit and bridle!"

Hen. de Bracton, lib. II. cap. xvi. f. 34.

This (the Parliament) House hath the most high and absolute power of the realme; for thereby Kings and mighty Princes have from time to time been deposed from their thrones, and laws are enacted and abrogated, offenders of all sorts punished, and corrupted religion either disannulled or reformed. It is the head and body of all the Realme, and the place where every particular man is intended to be present, if not by himself, yet by his advocate and attorney; for this cause any thing that is there enacted is not to be withstood, but obeyed of all men, without contradiction or grudge.

Raphael Holinshed, cap. VIII. vol. I. p. 173.

Thirdly, Our own parliaments, prelates, nobles, and commons, in all ages (especially in times of popery), as well in parliament as out, have by open force of arms resisted, suppressed the oppressions, rapines, unjust violence, and armies of their princes raised against them; yea, incountred their Kings in open battles, taken their persons prisoners, and sometimes expelled, nay, deposed them from their royal authority, when they became incorrigible open professed enemies to their Kingdoms, their subjects, seeking the ruine, slavery, and desolation of those whom, by office, duty, oath, and common justice, they were bound inviolably to protect in liberty and peace.

Prynne's Sovereigne Power of Parliaments and Kingdomes, part III. p. 4. edit. 2.

And at the beginning they [the Saxons] caused the King to swear, that he will maintaine the holy christian faith to the utmost of his power, and guide his people by law, without respect to any person, and shall be obedient to suffer law, as well as others of his people.

Andrew Horne's Myrrour of Justices, chap. I. sect. ii. p. 7, 8, 9.

Let the Prince be either from God or from men, yet think not that the world was created by God, and in it men, that they should serve for the benefit of Princes; for it is an absurdity, above what can be spoken, to opine that men were made for princes, since God hath made us free and equal: but Princes were ordained *only for the peoples benefit*; that so they might innocently preserve humane and civil society with greater facility, helping one the other with mutual benefits.

Salamonius de Principatu, l. ii. p. 57.

You cannot forsake this parliament, and leave it to the mercy of the malignants, but you shall forsake yourselves and your religion, lawes, liberties, and properties open to the spoyle and oppression of an arbitrary government, (more remediless, and not lesse wasting than a warre); and either have no more parliaments (for, when they may take what they list, you shall never be called to give) or if (by virtue of your triennial act) there  
should

should be another parliament summoned, what faith and courage can you expect from such members as must either offer up your laws, liberties, and properties that sent them or (being destitute of your protection) become themselves a sacrifice? Such a slavish parliament will lay the sure foundation of all our slaveries; for as our lawes protect us and all that is ours, and parliaments protect our lawes, so we must protect them and their priviledges from violence. Next consider how forraigne kingdomes are governed; where, for want of parliaments, the will of the prince, and his favourites, is the law of the people. And how this kingdom was governed, during the long intermission (*when honest men were out of hope, and knaves out of feare*) of parliaments.

He that thinks a parliament can be forsaken knows not the power of parliaments; for if the parliament please to imitate your unconstancy, and faithles cowardice, and deserting your interest, pursue only their own, and comply with the King, they are able to doe him more service *in one week* than Joseph did to Pharaoh *in twice seven years*. They can make him more absolute than any prince in christendome, nay, than the Turk or Muscovite. They can repeale all the good laws they have got for you; they can revive the Star-chamber, High-commission, &c. and set the pillory upon your neckes, and litle *Laud* upon your eares againe; they can bring in and naturalise the excises of the Low-countries, the Gabels of France, the Aleavales of Spaine, and all the taxes of Florence, and make England the map of all the oppressions in the world; they can give away your laws, liberties, and properties, by a statute, and establish a perpetual tyranny by a law, which shall stop your mouths for ever, when you shall be told, that the act of the representative body is the act of the whole kingdom, and you are bound by the lawes of the land; complaints against illegal taxes shall then no more be heard in your streets for want of laws. Neither think this plot so shallow, that the members of this parliament, or their posterity, shall draw in the same yoke with you: No, they may entaile their severall votes and seats in this already perpetuated parliament to themselves, and their heires males for ever: and (as the fable saith, that the lion proclaiming a general day of hunting, all beasts of prey waited upon him for their shares) so these may have a subordinate share, according to their severall capacities, in your spoiles and booties. The Lord Treasurer Burleigh was wont to say, *He knew not what a parliament could not do*; and truly I know not what a parliament (concurring with his Majesty) cannot be. They may be the only favourites and privadoes over and strike all others into the boxe, and lye in their roomes. Bishops shall not straine their consciences nor braines to invent a theological engine, called a divine prerogative, for battering your laws, liberties, and properties; the votes of parliament shall shake them in funder. They shall be the king's cavaliers, and subdue you and all yours (feare not a civil war) without blow striken, and with a most permanent victory. And this whole kingdome shall consist only of a King, a Parliament, and Slaves. What King will reject such servants, or neglect such a *compendium* of power and profit upon any conditions? Mistake me not: I doe not say or thinke they will doe this, they have shewed themselves more pious, just, faithfull,

faithfull, than to deserve such a suspition. But take heed you doe not cancell the obligation your election hath laid upon them, by an undeserved ignoble mistrust.

Reasons why this Kingdome ought to adhere to the Parliament, folio.

Respecting the affair of putting C. I. to death.

See Goodman on Obedience. The Passages cited by Milton, and which are produced in the leaf opposite the title.

“The Greeks and Romans, as their prime authors witness, held it not only lawfull, but  
“a glorious and heroic deed, rewarded publicly with statues and garlands, to kill an in-  
“famous tyrant at any time without trial: and but reason, that *he who had trod down all*  
“*law*, should not be vouchsafed the benefit of law.”

Milton's Works, folio, vol. I. p. 348.

Victima haud ulla amplior

Potest, magisque opima mactari Jovi

Quam Rex iniquus.

Seneca the tragedian.

*Note*, At the coronation of King James I. in Scotland, the coronation medals had stamped upon them (the device a naked sword in a hand) these words “SI MEREOR, IN ME.”

See Milton's Prose Works, vol. I. p. 352. and his remark upon it.

“If men (not to speak of heathen) both wise and religious have done justice upon ty-  
“rants what way they could soonest, how much more mild and humane then is it to give  
“them fair and open trial; to teach lawless Kings, and all who so much adore them, that  
“not mortal man, or his imperious will, but justice, is the only true sovereign and supreme  
“majesty upon earth? Let men cease therefore out of faction and hypocrisy to make outcries  
“and horrid things of things so just and honourable.”

Milton's Works, vol. I. p. 356. But see the entire page,  
there being a very fine passage before this.

“The question is, Who were the aggressors? who began enormities? who defied and  
“overturned the law? was it the people? No: it was the court and the clergy; and both  
“rioted in lawless rule for a long course of years. After this change, this alarming change,  
“where all law and security was swallowed up, it was natural for other changes to follow;  
“and when once a general war was begun, no change, nor any excess, was to be wondered  
“at. Had not the King disregarded, and even overthrown law, he needed not have been  
“a martyr to public resentment, nor even to a particular faction.”

Gordon's Examination of the Facts and Reasonings in Bishop Hare's  
Sermon, on Jan. 30, published in the third volume of the Inde-  
pendent Whig.

“He



“ He [K. C.] committed, or attempted to commit, all the enormities, all the acts of  
 “ usurpation, committed by the late King *James*; levied money against law, levied forces,  
 “ and obliged his subjects to maintain them against law; raised a body of foreign soldiers  
 “ to destroy the law, and enslave his people at once; dispensed with all the laws; filled  
 “ the prisons with illustrious patriots who defended the law, and themselves by the law; en-  
 “ couraged and rewarded hireling doctors to maintain, that his will was above law, nay, it-  
 “ self the highest law, and binding upon the consciences of his subjects, on pain of eternal  
 “ damnation; and that such as resisted his lawless will resisted God, and were guilty of im-  
 “ piety and rebellion. He robbed cities of their charters, the public of its money and li-  
 “ berty, and treated his free-born subjects as slaves, born only to obey him.”

Idem. ibide m.

“ It was a known maxim of liberty amongst the great, the wise, the free antients, that  
 “ a tyrant was a beast of prey, which might be killed by the spear as well as by a fair  
 “ chase, in his court as well as in his camp; that every man had a right to destroy one  
 “ who would destroy all men; that no law ought to be given to him who took away all law;  
 “ and that, like Hercules’s monsters, it was glorious to rid the world of him, whenever, and  
 “ by what means soever, it could be done.”

Gordon, in Cato’s Letters, vol. II. p. 169.

“ Between law and violence, between right and tyranny, there is no medium; no more  
 “ than between justice and oppression. If King Charles had no right to act thus, then his  
 “ acting thus was tyranny. If he had a right, of what force are laws and oaths, and  
 “ where is our constitution, the boasted birth-right of *Englishmen*, and our antient Magna  
 “ Charta?”

Gordon’s Sermon on Jan. 30.

“ Atque Sidnejum nostrum, quod ego illustre nomen nostris semper adhucisse par-  
 “ tibus laetor.”

J. Miltoni, Angli, Defensio sec. Hagae—comitum, 1654, p. 117.

The trappings of a monarchy will set up an ordinary commonwealth.

Toland’s Life of Milton, p. 139.

But wherefore spend we two such precious things as time and reason upon priests, the  
 most prodigal mispenders of time, and the scarcest owners of reason?

Milton’s Observat. on the Articles of Peace made with Irish Rebels.

Bishops and Deans, Peers, Pimps, and Knights, he made;  
 Things highly fitting for a monarch’s trade.

Marvell’s Works, vol. II. p. 44.

By a tyrant the antients understood one that broke-in upon the fundamental constitution of a state, and who went about to change a free government into a monarchy, by which they always understood absolute monarchy; and that the tyrants they thought it lawful to kill were those who went about to change a state of liberty and obedience to laws, into a state of slavery and obedience to men; into a state, in which as Brutus and Machiavel express it, men have more power than the laws.

A succinct history of ancient and modern persecutions, together with a short essay on assassinations and civil wars. By Daniel Lombard, D. D. octavo, 1747. p. 172. printed for S. Birt, in Ave Mary Lane.

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Nº LXXXVII.

A Testimonial from the university of Glasgow to the late  
Rev. Richard Baron.

THESE are to certify any whom it may concern, that Mr. Richard Baron hath resided in this university for three compleat annual sessions; viz. from October, 1737, to the date of these presents, attending regularly the lectures of philosophy, mathematics, and languages, and behaving as it became a man of virtue and probity, and particularly applying himself studiously to the law of nature, and shewing a good genius, and an high regard for what is virtuous and honorable.

In witness whereof we sign these presents, at Glasgow-College, this twenty-second day of May, 1740.

FRANCIS HUTCHINSON, P. P.

ROBERT SIMSON, Math. P.

The original, I think, was in the hand-writing of Mr. Hutchinson,

T. H.

N° LXXXVIII.

The Progress of Poetry, by Mr. Gray.

MILTON.

Nor second He, that rode sublime  
Upon the seraph-wings of Extasy,  
The secrets of the abyfs to spy.  
He pass'd the flaming bounds of Place and Time \* ;  
The living throne, the sapphire-blaze †,  
Where Angels tremble while they gaze,  
He saw ; but, blasted with excess of light,  
Clos'd his eyes in endless night ‡.

\* *Flammantia mœnia mundi.* Lucretius.

† For the spirit of the living creature was in the wheels, and above the firmament that was over their heads, was the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of a sapphire stone. This was the appearance of the glory of the LORD.

Ezekiel i. 20. 26. 28.

‡ Ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ἄμερσε· δίδε δ' ἠδ᾽ ἔϊεν ἀοιδίην.

HOM. OD.



## N° LXXXIX.

An (*abusive*) Elegy on the death of ALGERNON SIDNEY, Esq. who was found guilty of High Treason, and beheaded at Tower-Hill, on Friday the 7th of December, 1683.

W O N D E R not, Reader, if you here descry  
 Satyr usurp the place of Elegy ;  
 No deep-fetch'd sighs, no tears, nor mournful verse,  
 Must e'er attend an old rebellious herse :  
 Traytors, like stately tapers set on high,  
 Blaze for a while, then dwindle, stink, and die.  
 Th' apostate angel, since from heaven he fell,  
 Smells of the loathsome sulphurous stench of Hell,  
 An odious wretched name is still the fate  
 Of rebel man, whene'er he proves ungrate.  
 Ungrateful Sidney ! See the ill success  
 Of rampant and triumphant wickedness !  
 Justly the ax must cut his thread of life,  
 Who vainly spent his threescore years in strife.  
 When traitors pulses beat so wondrous high,  
 To blood a vein is the securest way.  
 An old stanch't Rebel, curst at his birth,  
 A foe to heaven, and a plague to earth.  
 Early in Treason he began t' excel,  
 Wou'd in his cradle scratch, bite, and rebel.  
 As strength encreas'd, so spite and malice reign'd,  
 And still prevail'd o're his ill-temper'd mind.  
 Fierce was his humour, furious was his zeal,  
 A fond admirer of a Common-weal.  
 This made the Rebel-Saint with curst sword,  
 In wrath, pursue th' Anointed of the LORD.  
 His lawful King in all things he withstood,  
 Till now n'ere cloy'd with sulsom draughts of blood,  
 Then farewell Sidney ! now expect no more  
 To sport and roll in Royal purple gore.  
 All your Rebellious cheats must have an end.  
 For heaven its vicegerent will defend.

Th'

Th' Almighty thunderer justly when he nods  
 Shakes the proud fabric of these demi-gods.  
 Republic monsters that wou'd heaven invade,  
 By 's powerful word with earth are levell made.  
 Gigantic Commonwealth's-men thus are hurl'd,  
 From distant sky's, into the lower world.

Learn then by Sidney's fate, the factious crew  
 Good, honest, loyal methods to pursue,  
 Nor seek another Sov'ragn to undoe ;  
 If once you're pardon'd shew your penitence,  
 No more such base vile wretches to commence :  
 But if you are resolv'd to be perverse  
 Then gall and fatyr shall be mix't in verse.  
 For those who are apt to murmur and rebel  
 No lecture's fit for them but death and hell.

#### T H E E P I T A P H.

READER, if Whig thou art, thou'lt laugh  
 At this insipid Epitaph.  
 O fie ! get onions for thine eyes,  
 For here thy patron Sidney lies.  
 But where 's his wandring spirit gone,  
 Since here he suff'red martyrdom?  
 To heaven? Oh ! it cannot be,  
 For heaven is a monarchy.  
 Where then I pray ? To purgatory ?  
 That's an idle Romish story.  
 Such Saint as he can't go to hell ?  
 Where is he gone, I pri'thee tell,  
 The learned say t' Achitophel.

Another Elegy, of the same stamp, called  
Algernon Sidney's Farewel.

WELCOME, kind death, my long tired Spirit bear  
From hated monarchies detested air :  
And waft me safe to the happier Stygian land,  
Where my dear friends with flaming Chaplets stand : }  
And seat me high at Shaftsbury's Right hand. }  
There worshipping, my prostrate soul shall fall :  
Oh ! for a temple, statutes, altars, all :  
Volumes, and leaves of brass ; whole books of Fame !  
For all are due to that immortal name.  
For my reception then, great shades, make room,  
For SIDNEY does with loads of honour come.  
No braver champion, nor a bolder son  
Of thunder ever grac'd your burning throne.  
Survey me, mighty prince of darknefs, round :  
View my hack'd limbs, each honourable wound.  
The pride and glory of my numerous scars  
In hell's best cause the old republic wars.  
Behold the rich grey hairs your SIDNEY brings,  
Made silver all in the pursuit of Kings.  
Think of the Royal Martyr, and behold  
This bold right hand, this cyclops arm of old,  
That labour'd long, stood blood and wars rough shock  
To forge the ax, and hew the fatal block.  
Nor stopt we here ; our dear revenge still kept  
A spark that in the Father's ashes slept,  
To break as fiercely in a second flame,  
Against the son, the heir, the Race, the Name.  
Revenge is God-like, of that deathless mold,  
From generation does to generation hold.  
Let dull religion and sophist's rules  
Of Christian Ignorants, conscientious fools,  
With false alarms of heavens forbidding laws,  
Blast the renown of our illustrious cause :  
A cause (whate'er dull preaching dotards prate)  
Whose only fault was being unfortunate.

Oh



Oh the blest structure ! Oh the charming toil !  
 Had not heaven's envy crush'd the rising pile,  
 To what prodigious heights had we built on !  
 So Babel's Tower had Solomon's Church out-shone.  
 True, my unhappy blood's untimely spilt !  
 And some soft fools may tremble at the guilt.  
 As if the poor vice-gerent of a God  
 Were that big name that our ambition aw'd.  
 A poor crown'd head, and heaven's anointed ! No !  
 We stop at nought that souls resolv'd dare do. }  
 And only curse the weak and failing blow. }  
 Whilst like the Roman Scævola we stand,  
 And burn the *missing*, not the *acting*, hand.  
 Nay the great work of ruin to fulfil  
 All arts, all means, all hands are sacred still.  
 No play too foul to win the glorious game :  
 Witness the great immortal Teckley's fame.  
 In holy wars 'tis all *true Protestant*  
 Kings to dethrone, and empires to supplant.  
 Nay, and the antichristian Throne to shake,  
 Curse monarchy, 'tis famous even to make  
 The Alcoran the Bibles cause assume :  
 And Mahomet the prop of Christendom.  
 Such aid, such helps, sublime rebellion wants,  
 Rebellion the great *Shibboleth* of saints ;  
 Which current stamp to Reformation brings.  
 For all is [God with us] that strikes at kings.  
 Now, Charon, land me on th' Elysian coast,  
 With all the rites of a descending ghost.  
 A stouter, hardier murmurer ne'er fell  
 Since the old days of stiff-neck'd Israel :  
 Since the cleft earth, in her expanded womb  
 Op'd a broad gulph for mighty Corah's tomb.  
 Methinks I saw him, saw the yawning deep.  
 Oh ! 'twas a bold descent, a wondrous leap !  
 More swift the pointed lightning never fell.  
 One plunge at once t' his death, his grave, his hell.

N° XCI.

An Epitaph in honour of Sidney.

ALGERNON SIDNEY fills this tomb,  
 An Atheist, for disclaiming Rome;  
 A rebel bold, for striving still  
 To keep the law above the will.  
 Crimes! damned by church-government:  
 Ah! whither must his ghost be sent?  
 Of heaven it cannot but despair—  
 If holy Pope be turnkey there:  
 And hell will ne'er it entertain,  
 For there is all tyrannic reign.  
 Where goes it then? Where 't ought to go—  
 Where Pope nor Devil have to do.

N° XCII.

SONNET, to the memory of John Hampden.

O HAMPDEN, last of that illustrious line,  
 Which greatly stood in Liberty's dear cause,  
 Zealous to vindicate our trampled laws  
 And rights, which Britons never can resign!  
 From the wild claim of impious Right Divine,  
 Then when fell tyranny with harpy claws  
 Had seiz'd its prey; and the devouring jaws  
 Of that seven-headed monster, at whose shrine  
 The nations bow, threaten'd our swift decay.  
 Neighbor and Friend, farewell!—but not with thee  
 Shall die the record of thy house's fame;  
 Thy grateful country shall its praise convey  
 From age to age, and, long as Britain's free,  
 Britons shall boast in Hampden's glorious name.

N° XCIII.

N° XCIII.

Brutus.

LOOK then abroad, through nature, to the range  
 Of planets, suns, and adamantine spheres,  
 Wheeling unshaken through the void immense;  
 And speak, O man! does this capacious scene,  
 With half that kindling majesty dilate  
 Thy strong conception; as when Brutus rose  
 Refulgent from the stroke of Cæsar's fate,  
 Amid the croud of patriots; and his arm  
 Aloft extending, like eternal Jove,  
 When guilt brings down the thunder, call'd aloud  
 On Cicero's name, and shook his crimson steel,  
 And bade the father of his country, hail!  
 For lo! the tyrant, prostrate on the dust,  
 And Rome again is free!

AKENSIDE,

*Pleasures of Imagination*, page 37.

Cæfare interfecto—statim cruentum alte extollens M. Brutus pugionem, Ciceronem nominatim exclamavit, atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus.

Cic. Philipp. II. 12.



N° XCIV.

Honest praise  
Oft nobly fways  
Ingenuous youth.

But from the coward and the lying mouth  
Praise is reproach. Eternal God alone  
For mortals fixes that sublime award.  
He, from the faithful records of his throne,  
Bids the Historian and the Bard  
Dispose of honour and of scorn;  
Discern the Patriot from the slave;  
And write the good, the wise, the brave,  
For lessons to the multitude unborn.

AKENSIDE, *Ode* &c.

N° XCV.

William Defech painted by Soldi. 1751.

(Written under by T. H.)

Thou honor'st verse, and verse must lend her wing,  
To honor thee, the priest of Phœbus' quire,  
That *tun'st* her happiest lines in hymn or story.

MILTON.

Mr. Defech was his music-master, and very eminent in his profession; was the author of many compositions, and set many pieces of poetry to music; and for whom T. H. had great regard.

N° XCVI.

## N° XCVI.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Rodolph de Valltravers, fellow of the Royal Society, to Thomas Hollis, of Lincoln's - Inn, dated Vevay, Oct. 8, 1757.

“ ——— When honest Ludlow came to take shelter in Switzerland, he lived happy amongst us to the age of 73 years: and his memory is preserved with infinite love and respect. Inclosed is his epitaph, which is copied exactly from the original, in black marble, in golden Roman Letters. The monument is six feet in length, and four feet in height, English measure.

“ Near it is another monument, erected by this town, in memory of an excellent citizen of ours, Monsieur Couvreur, a copy of which I was willing to send also, that you might know in what company your countryman is buried, *and how we distinguish and reward true virtue and merit.*”

## SISTE GRADVM, ET RESPICE.

Hic jacet EDMOND LUDLOW, Anglus Natione, Provinciæ Wiltoniensis, Filius Henrici, Equestris ordinis Senatorisque Parlamenti, cujus quoque fuit ipse Membrum, Patrum Stemmate clarus et nobilis, virtute propriâ nobilior, religione protestans, et insigni pietate coruscus; ætatis anno 23 tribunus militum, pauló post exercitûs prætor primarius,

TVNC HIBERNORVM DOMITOR.

In pugna intrepidus et vitæ prodigus, in victoriâ clemens et mansuetus, patriæ Libertatis Defensor, et Potestatis arbitrariæ Oppugnator acerrimus;  
Cujus causâ ab eadem patria 32 annis extorris, meliorique fortunâ dignus, apud Helvetios se recepit, ibique ætatis 73 moriens, omnibus sui desiderium relinquens, sedes æternas lætus advolavit.

Hocce monumentum in perpetuam veræ et sinceræ erga maritum defunctum amicitiae memoriam dicat et vovet Domina Elisabeth de Thomas, ejus strenua et mœstissima, tam in infortuniis quàm in matrimonio, consors dilectissima, quæ animi magnitudine et vî amoris conjugalis mota, eum in exilium ad obitum usque constanter secuta est.

ANNO DOMINI 1693.

N° XCVII.

Johanni Martino Couvreu  
de  
Deckersberg,  
Pauperum Patri amantissimo,  
Bonorum omnium amico certissimo,  
Dei Virtutumque omnium  
Cultori religiosissimo  
Senatus Populusque Viviacensium  
in perpetuam  
tantae pietatis  
Memoriam  
posuérunt.  
Ob. x Jan. Anno MDCCXXXVIII.  
Natus annos 93.

N° XCVIII.



## N° XCVIII.

## Bradshaw's Epitaph.

THE following Epitaph is often seen pasted up in the houses in North America. It throws some light upon the principles of the people, and may in some measure account for the asperity of the war carrying on against them. The original is engraved upon a cannon at the summit of a steep hill near Martha Bray in Jamaica.

S T R A N G E R,  
 Ere thou pass, contemplate this cannon,  
 Nor regardless be told  
 That near its base lies deposited the dust  
 Of JOHN BRADSHAW;  
 Who, nobly superior to selfish regards,  
 Despising alike the pageantry of courtly splendor,  
 The blast of calumny,  
 And the terrors of royal vengeance,  
 Presided in the illustrious band of Heroes and Patriots,  
 Who fairly and openly adjudged  
 CHARLES STUART  
 Tyrant of England  
 To a public and exemplary death;  
 Thereby presenting to the amazed world,  
 And transmitting down through applauding ages,  
 The most glorious example  
 Of unshaken virtue,  
 Love of Freedom,  
 And impartial justice,  
 Ever exhibited on the blood-stained theatre  
 Of human actions.  
 Oh, Reader,  
 Pass not on, till thou hast blest his memory!  
 And never, never forget,  
 That REBELLION TO TYRANTS  
 IS OBEDIENCE TO GOD.

N<sup>o</sup> XCIX. *A copy of the Epitaph made by Mr. Gordon to the memory of Alderman Cornish, given to T. H. Apr. 14, 1757, by Mr. Smith.*

Underneath rest the remains  
 Of ANTHONY CORNISH, Esq.  
 Once Member of Parliament for Ludgershall, in Wilts :  
 With those of his father Henry Cornish, Esq.  
 A wealthy Merchant and Citizen of London :  
 As also those of his Grandfather HENRY CORNISH, Alderman and Sheriff of London,  
 Stations which he supported with such vigor and munificence  
 As exposed him to the violence of the times,  
 During the unblest reign of James the Second ;  
 When zeal for the laws passed for treason against the prince,  
 Who was sworn to defend them.  
 He was suddenly arraigned before JEFFERIES, Chief Justice,  
 Or rather Chief Inquisitor for blood ;  
 Whose sole rule of Justice was the blind will of an arbitrary master.  
 And as such a doom was determined before the process was begun ;  
 He was by that fierce implement of tyranny,  
 In spite of innocence, and without proof of guilt,  
 Doomed to the executioner's knife,  
 His head and quarters severed, and exposed to public view in the city,  
 As a spectacle of terror to all that were honest and rich ;  
 And his estate confiscated to the crown.  
 His scattered limbs were granted to the tears and prayers of his widow,  
 By the Prince, without blushing for such mock-mercy.  
 At his trial, however brow-beaten and menaced,  
 At his death, however hurried and surprizing,  
 (For in the space of a week the infamous tragedy was begun and dispatched)  
 He manifested such courage as became a brave man doomed to perish for righteousness.  
 Soon after, the inhuman Sentence was repealed ;  
 But repealed without glory, by those who had pronounced it with infamy ;  
 Since the demonstration of his innocence became so strong and public  
 That only the dread of popular odium  
 Forced even that lawless and implacable court  
 To restore his fortune to his family ;  
 Who have ever since, without exception, retained his virtuous principles of Liberty,  
 With all due reverence to such a worthy Patriot their ancestor,  
 To whose pious memory  
 Elizabeth Cornish his Granddaughter,  
 With filial tenderness and duty,  
 Hath erected this monument of marble,  
 Yet not so lasting as his name.

N° C.

Epitaph of Dr. James Forster.

HERE LIE THE REMAINS OF  
 JAMES FOSTER D D  
 BORN AT EXETER IN DEVONSHIRE XVI SEP MDCXCVII  
 EARLY TRAINED UP TO ACADEMICAL STUDIES  
 AND PREPARED FOR THE SACRED WORK TO WHICH HE DEVOTED HIMSELF  
 BY DILIGENT RESEARCHES INTO THE HOLY SCRIPTURES  
 AND THE ASSISTANCE THEY AFFORD AS A GUIDE TO NATURAL REASON  
 AS ALSO BY SERIOUS PIETY ELEVATED THOUGHT  
 HAPPY FACILITY IN COMPOSING AND FLUENCY OF EXPRESSION  
 HIS JUDGMENT IN DIVINE THINGS NOT GUIDED BY THE OPINIONS OF OTHERS  
 PRODUCED MANY DISCOVERIES AND WRITINGS OUT OF THE COMMON WAY  
 SOME IN DEFENCE OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION  
 BUT MOST IN RECOMMENDING LOVE TOWARDS GOD AND MEN  
 NOTWITHSTANDING THE CENSURES WHICH FELL UPON HIM  
 HE WAS CANDID TOWARDS ALL WHOM HE BELIEVED SINCERE  
 BENEFICENT TO THE NEGLECT OF HIMSELF  
 AGREEABLE AND USEFUL IN CONVERSATION  
 AND CAREFUL TO AVOID EVEN THE APPEARANCE OF EVIL  
 HE BEGAN HIS MINISTRY IN THE WEST COUNTRY  
 UNDER GREAT DISCOURAGEMENTS  
 WAS ORDAINED PASTOR IN JULY MDCCXXIV AT BARBICAN IN LONDON  
 AND AFTER TWENTY YEARS SERVICE THERE  
 REMOVED TO PINNERS HALL IN THE SAME CITY  
 IN DECEMBER MDCCXLVIII THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN IN SCOTLAND  
 CONFERRED ON HIM UNSOUGHT THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR IN DIVINITY  
 HIS ELOQUENCE PROCURED HIM MANY HEARERS OF DIFFERENT PERSUASIONS  
 TILL AT LENGTH BY HIS GREAT ASSIDUITY IN PREACHING AND WRITING  
 HE FELL INTO A NERVOUS DISORDER  
 WHICH INCREASING UPON HIM FOR TWO OR THREE YEARS  
 PUT AN END TO HIS LIFE 5 NOV MDCCLIII  
 IN THE LVII YEAR OF HIS AGE

N CI.



N° CI.

Epitaph of Dr. John Ward.

Hic requiescit  
 Quod mortale fuit  
 JOHANNIS WARD, LL. D.  
 In collegio Greshamenfi  
 Per Ann. xxxviii Rhetor. Profess.  
 Ob. Ann. Salut. Human. MDCCLVIII,  
 Ætatis suae LXXX.  
 Bonus ut melior vir  
 Aut doctior non alius quisquam  
 Imbutusque anima, qualem neque candidiorem.  
 Terra tulit.  
 Item  
 Dilectæ ejus sororis  
 ABIGALIS WARD.

Mem. This epitaph was composed by  
 SAMUEL CHANDLER, D. D. F. R. & A. S. S.

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N° CII.

Inscription on a present made by Mr. Hollis to Mr. and Mrs. Hollister.

HANC AMPLAM SCVTELLAM  
 CVM QVATVOR ALIIS VASIS ARGENTEIS  
 FIBVLAQVE IN VSVM VXORIS GEMMIS ORNATA  
 IOHANNI HOLLISTER  
 AMICITIAE CAUSA DEDIT DONAVITQVE  
 THOMAS HOLLIS ARM.  
 Ann. 1741.

N° CIII.

## N° CIII.

Dante, sopra la porta dell' Inferno.

P E R me si va nella città dolente :  
 Per me si va nell' eterno dolore :  
 Per me si va tra la perduta gente .  
 Lasciate ogni speranza, voi, ch'entrate .  
 Queste parole di colore oscuro  
 Vid io scritte al sommo d'una porta :

Qui vi sospiri, pianti, e alti quai  
 Risonavan per l'aer senza stelle ,  
 Diverse lingue, orribili favelle ,  
 Parole di dolore, accenti d'ira ,  
 Voci alte fioche, e suon di man con elle ;  
 Facevano un tumulto, il qual s'aggira  
 Sempre en quell' aria senza tempo tinta ,  
 Come l' arena, quando 'l turba spira .

—— Questo misero modo  
 Tengon l'anime triste di coloro ,  
 Che visser senza infamia, e senza lodo .  
 Mischiate sono a quel cattivo coro  
 Degli angeli che non furon ribelli ,  
 Nè fur fedeli a Dio, ma per se foro .  
 Cacciarli i ciel per non esser men belli :  
 Nè lo profondo Inferno gli riceve ,  
 Ch' alcuna gloria i rei avrebber d'elli .

Questi non hanno speranza di morte :  
 E la lor cieca vita è tanto bassa ,  
 Che 'nvidiosi son d'ogni altra forte .  
 Fama di Loro il mondo esser non lascia :  
 Misericordia, e giustizia gli sdegna .  
 Non ragioniam di lor, ma guarda, e passa .

DANTE.

N° CIV.

Sonnet on the expulsion of the Jesuits.

CADDE l'Arbor superba : Eccome infranto  
L'avaro Tronco, e i vasti rami a terra :  
L'irato Angiol di Dio col fosco ammanto  
Còprela, e il cielo fu di Lei si ferra .

L'almo Pastor, ch' ha di clemenza il vanto ,  
Che non fè a qual non resse orrida querra ?  
Come il suo cor non la difese, e quanto  
Dal colpo, che cadendo, unqua non erra ?

Stolta ! derise il minacciar del campo :  
Sinchè salute era a sperar concessa ,  
Dicca : La forza mia sola è il mio Scampo :

Or giace , e il mondo , che a mirar si appressa ,  
Grida a le Genti, e il Ciel rimbomba , e il campo :  
Così superbia e ognor morte a se stessa .



N° CV.

Chanfon Bacchique fur les Preliminaires.

Par L'Abbé L'Anglois.

Ridiculum acri  
Fortiùs et meliùs magnas plerùmque fecat res.  
HORATIUS.

D'ordinaire en riant, mieux qu'en grave sentence,  
On trenche, expose net les chofes d'importance.

NE parlons plus de politique :  
Qu'importe à moi  
Que le Tory superbe, inique,  
Trompe un bon Roi ?  
Qu'on faffe faire à l'Angleterre  
Le sot plongeon :  
Si j'ai ma bouteille et mon verre,  
Je dis : bon bon.

Que la lettre patriotique  
D'un vrai Breton  
Ne mette point la Republique  
Sur le bon ton :  
Qu'une muette Mâlepefte  
Tombe fur tous :  
Pourvu qu'avec moi Bacchus reffe,  
Je bois aux Foux.

Que Pitt, honête ainfi qu'habile,  
Soit rejetté :  
Qu'un flateur vain, haût et fervile,  
Soit exalté :  
Que la bonne vieille Angleterre  
Soit en danger :  
Je penfe, en dépit du Tonerre,  
A vandanger.

Que Pontichéry, la Havanne,  
 Et cætera,  
 Retourne à la France, à l'Espagne;  
 Que fait cela?  
 Que notre Sang, notre conquête,  
 Tout soit perdu :  
 Je contents à faire la bête,  
 Quand j'ai bien bu.

Que cent millions d'or Britannique  
 Soient épandus,  
 Simplement pour faire la nique  
 A nos vaincus :  
 Que l'on cède notre victoire  
 Aux deux Bourbons :  
 Tant que j'ai du champagne à boire,  
 Sautez, Bouchons.

Que pour le pàste de famille  
 Avant quatre ans  
 Le divers Océan fourmille  
 De vaisseaux grands :  
 Qu'ils vainquent alors la marine  
 Des bons Anglois \* :  
 Je m'en mocque en faisant la mine,  
 Et puis je bois.

Que nos marchands avec leurs banques,  
 En leur calcul  
 Appercevans d'horribles manques,  
 Montrent le cul :  
 Qu'il leur reste pour tout potage  
 Des choux cabus :  
 Je me barbouille le visage  
 Avec Bacchus.

\* Le sens et la rime demandent que ce mot soit prononcé comme il est écrit.

Lorsque les flottes Bourboniques  
 En mer mettront,  
 Les vrais Whigs d'honnêtes coliques  
 Ressentiront.  
 Les Toris en pleine allégresse  
 Criront : tant mieux :  
 Et moi, je boirai sans tristesse  
 Mon claret vieux.

Que de France le Grand Monarque  
 Un beau matin  
 S'empare de l'Anglaise Barque  
 Le fer en main :  
 Que Louïs quinze despotise  
 En Albion :  
 Pourvu qu'il accorde franchise  
 Au vin très bon.

Quand sur une aile gémissante  
 La Liberté,  
 Avec sa compagne constante  
 Propriété,  
 Passera dans un autre monde,  
 Encore nouveau ;  
 Je vuide, en versant à la ronde,  
 Mon gros tonneau.



N° CVI.

Inscription to the memory of Honoretta Pratt.

IN MEMORY  
OF HONORETTA PRATT  
A LADY OF GOOD FAMILY  
GREAT ACCOMPLISHMENTS  
AND AN EXCELLENT MIND.

She was born during the corrupt times of Charles II. saw the Revolution and Succession, and rejoiced in them; and died in the reign of George III. while the people were contending for their rights, and were led on to them by Sir George Saville, Bart. her grandson.

*Indorsed on the back by Mr. Hollis:*

Insc. for Mr. Steele, Feb. 15, 1770.

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N° CVII.

Inscription for Clara Pitt.

VILLIERS CLARA PITT

Was author of the scheme for erecting public magazines for corn, to relieve the necessities of the poor; and sister to the Right Honourable William Pitt.

1758.

There is a Print of her by M<sup>c</sup>Ardell, from a painting of Vestri.

N° CVIII.

N° CVIII.

Inscriptions on Rings, by Mr. Hollis.

Our trained  
Bands are the  
truest and  
most proper  
strength of a  
free nation.

Engraved on a fine blood-stone,  
for a ring.

Sanctus amor  
patriæ dat  
animum.

Ditto.

On Owl on a Palm Branch  
Wings extended—by deeds of Peace.

On a Chalcedon.

N° CIX.

Mr. Hollis's blazoning of his own arms, with an happy application of some verses from Ovid.

ARMS. The Pileus, or Cap of Liberty *proper*, on a circular antique shield *gules*, studded within a border of two circles *or*.

CREST. On a wreath of the colors, *gules & or*; a Dagger in pale, point downward *argent*. The hilt an owl in profile *or*, standing on the guard *or*.

At fibi dat clypeum, dat acutae cuspidis hastam;  
Dat galeam capiti: defenditur aegide pectus.

OVID. Met. vi. 78, 79.

N° CX.

Venuti's Inscription of one of his books  
(such perhaps as Mr. Hollis would have had it).

SENATVI POPVLOQVE BRITANNO  
REGISQVE ACADEMIIS  
MVNVSCVLVM CONSECRARI  
ET SVAM IN VIROS NOBILISSIMOS  
AC DOCTISSIMOS ACADEMICOS  
OBSERVANTIAM  
DEVOTVS NOMINI MAIESTATIQ. EORVM  
TESTARI VOLVIT  
RODVLPHINVS VENVTI ROM. ANTIQ. PRAES.  
ANNO REP. SAL. MDCCLXII.

N° CXI.



N° CXI.

Remarkable Inscription of a dagger, in reference to  
Sir Edmund Godfrey.

Inscription of a Dagger found near *Green Berry Hill*. The part of the blade next the handle gilt, and inscribed under a death's head. (penes T. H.)

MEMENTO Godfrey, proto martyr.  
Oct. 12, Anno 1678.

(On the other side)  
Pro Religione Protestantium.

N° CXII.

Mr. Hollis's Inscription for Sir Isaac Newton.

Mr. Hollis's Mezzotinto print of Sir Isaac Newton being scarce, and the plate not bearing to be retouched, it is thought proper to preserve the inscription which was put under it, as follows;

Sir ISAAC NEWTON,

Drawn and scraped 1760, by James Macardel, from an original portrait, painted by Enoch Seeman, now in the possession of Thomas Hollis, F. R. & A. SS.

Les Italiens ces peuples ingenieux ont crainte de penser. Les Français n'ont osé penser qu'à demie. Les Anglais qui ont volé jusqu'au ciel parce qu'on ne leur a point coupé les ailes, sont devenus des precepteurs de nations. Nous leur devons tout depuis les loix primitives de la gravitation, depuis le calcul de l'infini et la connaissance précise de la lumiere si vainement combattues, jusqu'à la nouvelle charue et à l'insertion de la petite verole combattues encore.

Ode sur la mort de Madame de Bareith avec une lettre de Monf. de Voltaire.

## N° CXIII.

[Omitted in its proper place.]

Extract from the London Chronicle, June 28, 1763.

THE judicious letter of FABRICIUS in your Gazetteer of the 21st of June acquaints us, That some of those who are entrusted with the administration of government have had an eye to the reduction of our national debt, and that more ways than one have been occasionally talked of; but he has mentioned no other than that of lowering the interest, which he thinks to be dangerous and impracticable, as I apprehend most others will, who consider the several inconveniencies that must attend it, some of which he has pointed out. Hence, as he very justly observes, the only way to secure our credit must be by lessening the bulk of our debt by redemption; but he has not proposed any method for doing it.

A scheme I proposed about thirty years ago would effectually do this great, this necessary work, without hurting any one individual; but on the other hand, by lessening the taxes, which will lower the prices of our manufactories so as that we may be able to undersell our rivals in trade at foreign markets, be of the greatest benefit to the whole nation, and to every individual. Which scheme I shall therefore lay down in as concise a manner as I can.

That the clergy have no other right to the church-lands, and other ecclesiastical revenues than what the laws and the crown gives them, is evident, and does not require to be here proved. They were given to the church; the nation is the church; hence they were and are the right of the people. The greater part of the church-lands were got by fraud from the antient owners, and given by them for the propagation and support of popery: hence the present clergy can claim no right to them, having deserted the superstition and idolatry they were given to support. As there are now no legal claimants, they become of course the right of the crown, and the supreme magistrate may dispose of them as he sees fit. Nothing can be more fit and proper than paying the national debt. This will be giving them to the poor, which was the original intent of all *deodands*.

But then for depriving the present possessors, whose right it now is, as given them by the state, only as they die, for the crown to take the whole revenues into their hands, giving a proper stipend to encourage learning and support genteel life. There is no doubt but there will be a sufficiency of candidates for the benefices, when the salaries are lowered. Nor can this give any just offence to the present bishops, or other possessors of fat benefices; for why should they be more concerned for their successors than they are for the poor starving country curates, who have scarce sufficient to provide bread for their families, while they, with their thousand, are constantly grasping after more?

As

As to the tithes, the owners of tithable lands should pay the government so many years purchase as the tithe of their land should be estimated at, in order to free them from that Jewish yoke.

By this means might the national debt be paid off *gradatim*, and the nation eased of the burthen of our taxes; the farther improvement of this scheme is submitted to the consideration of those who have more knowledge in these affairs than the author of this sketch.

June 28, 1763.

AN ENGLISHMAN.

N° CXIV.

[Omitted in its proper place.]

Extract of Letter from the London Chronicle, January 31, 1765.

S I R,

I OBSERVED in your paper of the 10th instant some extracts from a pamphlet, entitled \* An Essay on the Constitution of England; which contains such extraordinary doctrines, that the sight of the sample of them, which you have given to your readers, affords me no kind of encouragement to peruse them at large. But on what I have read of them I will take the liberty to make a few remarks.

In one passage he says, "There was a time when the Constituents of the English government were a few great landholders, called Barons, whose force, when the major part of them was united against the King, was capable to put chains upon both him and the people, of whom the greatest number were upon all occasions acknowledged to be their slaves or villains, and, in a political sense, had no more right to be reckoned among the people of England than the oxen that assisted them in ploughing their masters lands. This was the time of that so much boasted Magna Charta, most boasted by those who never read it. Those who have can see that it is not at all in favour of what is fondly called the natural liberty of mankind, and only calculated for the benefit of the few landed tyrants who extorted it from their weak sovereign."

That our constitution was sometimes violated, is not to be denied; and that it was so, particularly by our first Norman tyrant, and by his successors down to that weak tyrant, usurper, and murderer, John, is readily acknowledged, against whom the barons and people at length took up arms, and forced him to confirm those privileges by charter, which their successors ever afterwards maintained, and which, as our birth-right, we yet enjoy.

But what right he has to consider any Englishman at any time to have been a legal slave, I can by no means discover; for that they were not such by the Saxon constitution is most

\* The "Essay," written by Allan Ramsay, Painter and Pensioner to K. G. III.



evident from every man's being entitled to trial by his peers, which has been always, and is now, considered as one of the strongest rights of freedom: and surely the modes of electing Burgeſſes to Parliament ſhew that perſons not ſuperiour even to huſbandmen had representatives in the Senate, and were of courſe a part of the people, in the moſt honourable ſenſe of the term. Nor was the name of *villain* of infamous import, as the beſt etymologiſts and writers allow, as implying no other than an humbler degree of vaffalage than that of the Barons to the Crown, or the Knights and Gentlemen to the Barons; moſt of whom held their lands by military tenures, that is, for doing military ſervice; and the huſbandmen had that of tillage added to a military obligation, for the lands which they occupied on ſuch conditions. Their ſervice was therefore owed by compact for an equivalent conſideration; which was as entirely conſiſtent with freedom as any man's working now for wages or money, which by no means makes him a legal ſlave, or even leſs a conſtitutional freeman, than the man who employs him.

Exactly of a piece is his aſſertion, that Magna Charta is not at all in favour of the natural liberty of mankind, when the legiſlature itſelf, and all our greateſt oracles of law, ever have conſidered, and do yet conſider it, as the very foundation of all law and right to every freeman, which is what every ſubject of this ſtate is, and ever has been, by the conſtitution of this kingdom; the meaneſt people of which were never in the condition of Poſiſh or other peaſants, becauſe the laws never gave the lords in whoſe vaffalage they were the power over them of life or limb, or any other power but what was conditional, or by agreement, like that of hired ſervice now in the militia, or any other way: and if any common ſoldier is a potwolloper in a borough where ſuch chooſe representatives, he is as much a freeman by the conſtitution, and as much represented in parliament, as any other commoner who is poſſeſſed of ten thouſand pounds a year. There are many livery ſervants who now vote for knights of the ſhire, yet their ſervitude is deemed as baſe as any now is or ever was in the kingdom; but it by no means deprives them of the rights of freedom: and freemen they as much are, in the eye of the law, as any other ſubjects whomſoever.

What he ſays of the great and amiable qualities of Charles the firſt, ſerves to ſhew on what principles he writes, and what purpoſes he meant to ſerve. By his own account, Charles wanted to be maſter of the purſes of his people *without their conſent*, and he ſought to do it *by illegal means*: which was rank *tyranny* and *oppreſſion*, and as ſuch warranted reſiſtance; which the people, having power to make, did well in applying. His private qualities concerned himſelf, his public ones his people; and tyranny is the ſame, whether in a faint or reprobate. A people have little to do with the qualities or appearances of the man, as the qualities of the king, in his regal capacity, are what they have at any time chiefly, if not only, to regard.

By the whole of what you have given us of this writer's performance, I venture to pronounce it a bundle of hardly plauſible fallacies, and therefore no better than an inſult on the underſtandings of mankind. It is wonderful that we ſee ſuch daring publications made, avowing deſpotiſm in our conſtitution, which now ſtands on the principles of right to reſiſtance

tance in the people, established by the glorious Revolution, and with the regulations of government made by the Act of Settlement. I say it is wonderful now to behold (for the first period of time since the accession of the illustrious House of Hanover to the throne of this kingdom, who were legally called thereto for the defence of our liberties, and the support of our constitution) such daring undertakings as those of insinuating or representing, that we have in fact no constitution at all, nor any liberties of right, but only such as have been *extorted from weak sovereigns*; for such are this writer's words with regard to the acquisition and establishment of *Magna Charta*; and which he has the confidence to say is not at all in *the favour of the natural liberty of mankind*, though ever considered as the foundation of our laws, our liberties, and rights. But it is not in the power of such writers to convince us that we are no other than slaves. I am,

S I R,

Your's, &amp;c.

A LEGAL LOYALIST.

## N° CXV.

[Omitted in its proper place.]

A Letter from the President and Fellows of Harvard College, New-England, to the late Mr. William Bowyer.

“ S I R,

Cambridge, Dec. 16, 1767.

“ The President and Fellows of Harvard College in Cambridge beg leave to return you their grateful acknowledgements for the valuable donation you have been pleased to make to their library, through the hands of their most worthy friend and generous benefactor Thomas Hollis, Esq.

“ We have not been strangers to your character as a learned editor, a character by no means common in the present age; and the very accurate editions of many learned authors, which have come abroad into the world under your inspection, assure us of your great merit in that respect.

“ It is a particular pleasure to us to mention your very curious edition of the Greek Testament, in two volumes, with critical notes, and many happy conjectures, especially as to the punctuation, an affair of the utmost importance as to ascertaining the sense. This work, though small in bulk, we esteem as a rich treasure of sacred learning, and of more intrinsic value than many huge volumes of the commentators.

“ We are greatly obliged to you for the favourable sentiments you have been pleased so elegantly to express of our Seminary, in the blank leaf \* of the New Testament; and we hope it will prove a powerful stimulus to our youth more and more to deserve so good a character.

\* We should have been glad to have annexed this inscription, if a copy of it could have been procured, as we are informed it was an extremely good one.

“ This

" This Society is as yet but in its infant-state ; but, we trust, that, by the generosity of  
 " the benefactors which the Divine Providence is raising up to us, and by the smiles of  
 " Heaven upon our endeavours to form the youth here to knowledge and virtue, it will  
 " every day more effectually answer the important ends of its foundation. We are, with  
 " great respect,

" Your most obliged and humble servants

" (At the direction and desire of the  
 " Corporation of Harvard College,)

" EDW. HOLYOKE, President.

" Sir, inclosed you have our vote of thanks for your valuable present.

" At a meeting of the President and Fellows of Harvard College, Dec. 10, 1767.  
 " VOTE IV. That the thanks of this Corporation be given to Mr. William Bowyer of  
 " London, for several valuable books sent to Harvard College ; particularly his late  
 " curious edition of the Greek Testament, with learned Notes.

" A true Copy, extr. de Lib. vii. pag. 175.

" Per EDW. HOLYOKE, President.

" Present,  
 " THE PRESIDENT.  
 " MR APPELTON.  
 " MR. WINTHROP.  
 " MR. ELIOT.  
 " MR. COOPER.  
 " MR. DANFORTH.  
 " MR. TREASURER."



## N° CXVI.

## A short account of the Gems, Pastes, and Drawings, of Baron Stofch.

[See Description des Pierres gravées du Baron Stofch. 1768.]

Antique Rings, the fine engraving set in gold as rings,	-	-	938
Ditto of inferior workmanship, set in silver,	-	-	1310
Antique and modern pastes, set in silver,	-	-	1196

## Drawings after Antique Gems, to wit.

Egyptian, Persian,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	121
Satyr, Cybele, Jupiter, Pluto,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	172
Minerva, Diana, Ceres,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	131
Mercury,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	84
Neptune,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	71
Venus, Vulcan, the Graces,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	112
Cupid,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	225
Cupid and Psyche	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	221
Mars, Arms, Victory,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	201
Apollo, Zodiac, Muses,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	177
Theatre, Masks, Esculapius,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	205
Bacchus, Faunes, Bacchantes,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	232
Priapus, Spintria,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	200
Hercules,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	216
Inferior Deities,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	62
Fabulous History,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	204
Siege of Troy,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	199
History of Antient People,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	107
Roman History,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	115
Games of the Antients, Vases,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	210
Shipping, Animals,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	188
Abraxas and Stones, with the name of the engraver upon them,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	131
									<hr/> 3582 <hr/>

It is so singular a collection, a short note of it is worth preserving ; and this is authentic.

T. B. H.

A P P E N -

## A P P E N D I X II.

Respecting Virtù,  
and a general Idea of Mr. HOLLIS's Collection.

## I N T R O D U C T I O N.

*Dum ornare Patriam studemus, pariterque defensionis & gloriæ deservimus.*

PLINIUS.

TO those who study antiquity for the purpose of ascertaining manners, customs, and facts, it is of importance to them to preserve the memory of what remains to us, and to trace down the precious morsels of antiquity through the various hands they pass; and by ascertaining the prices at different periods we may in some measure estimate the taste of the times: whether the rich and great are advancing in knowledge and valuable science, or, sunk in luxury and debauchery, are prepared for any hardy ruffian to reduce them to their pristine barbarity and slavery.

Mr. Hollis endeavoured to obtain specimens of the Arts in all their various kinds; but did not aim at parade and show, as is remarkable in his collection of medals and coins; neglecting expressly to make a continued series, but preserving only the most curious and interesting. Any one, he was used to say, may make up the sett who chooses the pomp and splendor of it.

The following account of some of the most principal specimens, in the different branches of art, which were in his collection, will convey an idea how various and universal his taste was, and that he loved excellence in every art, and always made it subservient to some valuable purpose; for he thought, with an ingenious author, "that the arts directed to the ends nature meant them for, are the joys, the comfort of life; and that there is a brutal ignorance as destructive to the morals of mankind as ignominious to human genius." Long before the rage for collecting portraits prevailed, which now is the ruin of many an excellent book, he preserved the designs of places and things, and the resemblances of great men, but admitted no worthless or base menbers of society to disgrace his band of heroes.

Nº I.

N° I.

Numismata ad Britanniam pertinentia.

Antoninus Pius.

ANTONINVS. PIVS. P. P. TR. P. Caput Imp.

R. BRITANNIA. P. M. TR. P.

Victoria gradiens utraque manu scutum.

Al. R. BRITANNIA. Figura provinciæ insidens rupibus, dextra signum militare, sinistra hastam, innixio brachio clypeo.

R. BRITANNIA. COS. IIII. Figura provinciæ insidens monticulis, dextera capiti admovens, sinistra rupibus innixa; ante eam vexillum et clypeus.

R. BRITAN. In clypeo, quem gerit victoria gradiens his litteris in circulo IMPERATOR. II. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. Caput Imp.

R. BRITANNIA. Figura muliebris sedens, pede dextro rupibus imposito, sinistra caput sustentans, dextra hastam gerit, innixio cubito ingenti clypeo.

Commodus Imp. Caput Imp.

R. BRIT. P. M. TR. P. VIIII. IMP. VI. COS. IIII.

Figura muliebris tunicata stans, dextra gladium, sinistra coronam gerit.

R. BRITANNIA. P. M. TR. P. X. IMP. VI. COS. IIII. P. P.

Figura muliebris galeata sedens, dextra caduceum, læva hastam et clypeum.

R. BRITANNIA. P. M. TR. P. X. IMP. VII. COS. IIII. P. P.

Figura Provinciæ, tunicata cum pallio, insidet rupibus, dextra aquilam Legionariam, sinistra innixa clypeo in quo S. P. Q. R. hastam tenet.

Antoninus Pius. Caput Imp.

R. BRITANNIA. P. M. TR. P. X. IMP. VII. COS. IIII. P. P.

Figura, ut in nummo Commodo—Ex Vaillantio.

Augustus. Caput Imp.

R. FORT. RED. CAES. AVG. S. P. Q. R. Ara. Fortunam precatur ut Augustum adversus Britannos proficiscentem servet. Horat.

Serves iturum Caesarem in ultimos

Orbis Britannos.

Claudius. Caput Imp.

R. Arcus Triumphalis cum equite, et duobus militibus, in coronide DE BRITANNIS.

R. PACI AVGVSTAE. Victoria cum Caduceo, et serpente. Adludit ad Britanniam a Claudio devictam.

R. Jupiter cum fulmine, tridente, ac septem stellis. Trifanum deducit ex fulmine, et tridente, Claudium Naptuni Jovisque auxilio Britannica victoria potitum.

Nero Augustus.

R. PACE P. R. TERRA. MARIQ. PARTA IANVM. CLVSIT. Jani Templum. Nero Janum clusit, Britanniae, Germaniae, Armeniae, rebus compositis, Bellor. Numism.



Medaglione di Antonino Pio.

T. Ael. Hadr. Antoninus Aug. Pius PP.

R. Roma porrigens dexteram forsan Antonino stanti cum duobus militibus; pone Provincia cum tropaeo.

Putatur numisma alludere ad victoriam Lollii Urbici Legati adversus Britannos.—Bonarrot. Numif. pag. 49.

Id. Antoninus.

R. VICTORIA. AVGVSTI. S. C. Victoria turrita cum ferto.

Ad eandem Victoriam a Lollio obtentam numisma refertur.

Venuti, Numif. Vatican, p. 49.

IMP. C. CARAVSVS. P. P. AVG. Caput Imp.

R. PAX. AVG. Cum pacis imagine fulmen dextera, hasta sinistra, cui a lateribus B. E. videlicet, *Britannicum Exercitum*.

FL. VAL. CONSTANTIVS. NOB. C. Caput.

R. GENIO. POPVLI. ROMANI. Genius dextera pateram, sinistra cornucopiam hinc inde R. E. id est, Romanus Exercitus.

Constantii Chlorig numif. apud Musgrave Britann. tom. III. p. 175. nummos Getae Caesaris refert, quos putat ad Britanniam pertinere.

Claudius Imp.

R. BRITANNIA. Mulier cum prora navis ac temone.

Alter.

SPES AVGVSTA. Imp. cum duobus militibus Mulieri porrigens dextram—Musgrave, tom. I. p. 1171.

Antoninus Pius.

R. Victoria gradiens cum palma et Corona.

Alter.

R. Victoria cum tropaeo. Haec ad Victoriam Britannicam referunt.

SEVERVS AVGVSTVS. Caput Imp.

R. VICTORIA. BRIT. Victoria gradiens cum tropaeo, et puerum captivum prae manibus habens.

Constantinus. Caput Imp.

R. VICTORIA. TRIVM. AVGVSTORVM. Constantinus Diadematus labaro signo crucis ornato, sinistra Victoria hostem pedibus calcit. Hoc Numisma refert ad victoriam de Britannis rebellantibus—De Bie Numisinata.

*Mem.* There are various medals of Carausius and Allectus, not noticed in this account.

*Peireskii* scripsit ad Cottoum epistolam pereruditam, misitque simul ectypos variorum numorum, ac nominatim Commodi, ob inusitatam scripturam vocis BRITTANIA, per Duplex TT. A. 1606.

N° II.

Medaglie dé Papi riguardanti l'Inghilterra.

PAVLVS. III. PONT. MAX. Effigies.

R. Gryphus serpente circumplexus, ambo corona laurea circumplexi. Nonnulli Paulo spem fuisse tradunt sua prudentia Henricum VIII. Angliae Regem ad religionem Catholicam revocandi.—Numism. Pont. 79.

Unde serpentis symbolo Pontificem, gryphi vero Henricum, Significare volunt.

IVLIVS. TERTIVS. PONT. MAX. A. V. Caput.

ANGLIA. RESVRGES. Mulier genibus flexa cum arcu et pharetra, cui manus porrigit Pontifex. Numisma cufum cum Regina Maria ad regnum pervenerit, p. 96.

PAVLVS. IIIII. PONT. MAX. Caput.

NE. DETERIVS. VOBIS. CONTINGAT. Christus sanans lepros.

Alludit ad reversionem Anglicam ad religionem Catholicam.

INNOCENTIVS. XI. PONT. MAX. A. XI. Caput.

R. FORTITVDO MEA. DOMINE. Mulier galeata sedens quæ læva leoni blanditur. ob expulsionem Jacobi II. ex Anglia.

BENEDICTVS. XIV. PONT. MAX. ANN. IO. Caput.

R. MEMORIAE. M. CLEN. M. BRIT. REGINAE. Monumentum sepulcrale in Basil. Vatic. Venuti Numif. Pontif.

## Nº III.

A List of Effigies executed by Abraham and Thomas Simon,  
made out by Mr. Pennington, Cheese-factor of London, and  
given to Mr. George Copland, Engraver, who gave it obligingly  
to me, Oct. 2. 1759. T. H.

Charles the First.	Harrison.
Charles the Second.	Lambert.
Duke of York.	Monk.
Prince Rupert.	Rainsborough.
Prince Maurice.	Massey.
Marquis of Ormond.	Hammond.
Earl of Northumberland	Brown.
Earl of Essex.	Ludlow.
Earl of Warwick.	Lockhart.
Earl of Strafford.	Desborough.
Lord Keeper Lyttelton.	Mr. Goddard.
Lord Kimbolton.	Sir George Ayskue.
Oliver Cromwell.	Dean.
Richard Cromwell.	Stayner.
Henry Cromwell.	Montague.
Mr. and Mrs. Claypole.	Lilburn.
Ireton.	Overton.
Mrs. Ireton.	Pryn.
Sir Anthony Haflerig.	Burton.
Sir Philip Stapleton.	Bastwick.
Sir Henry Vane.	Doriflans.
Sir Hardrefs Waller.	Blake.
Sir Thomas Fairfax.	Jones.
Mr. St. John.	Scroop.
Waller the poet.	Cooke.
Milton.	Peters.
Mr. Pym.	Scot.
Mr. Hollis.	Axtel.
Mr. Stroud.	Joyce.
Mr. Hampden.	Christina Queen of Sweden.
Lenthall.	Cardinal Mazarine.
Fleetwood	The Two De Witts.
Hewson	De Ruyter.
Bradshaw.	

## Nº IV.



## N° IV.

## The Head of Phocion, sent to William Pitt, Esq. 1755,

Was from the Palazzo Lancellotti at Rome. As probably (from similitude) this is the Head taken notice of by several antiquaries, the following account may give some satisfaction.

Phocionis, viri prospera adversaque fortuna illustris, imaginem, quæ in marmorea Herma olim apud Fulvium Ursinum, nescio quo fato, perierat, servavit nobis gemma hæc a Pyrgotele, ejusdem coevo, insculpta. Obliquo vultu est, ac ob senium rugoso, sed qui majestatem quandam militaremque virtutem exhibeat; recalvaster est ac brevibus capillis, nudo ac fere adverso pectore: hæc celeberrimi hominis forma, qui et exercitibus præfuit, ac vitæ integritate conspicuus, cognomine *Bonus est appellatus*. Gemma ipsa (quæ ant. mar. Castiglioni olim fuit) a Britanno quodam magno pretio emta, quo migravit, ignotum est. ex sardonyche Anaglyph. exsculptum.

Gemma antiquæ De Stofch.

## N° V.

## Peritiores Vetustas facit.

CICERO pro DOMO.

HARPOCRATES minutissimus et elegantissimus, alis instructus est cum Pharetra tergo, et bulla de pectore ex balteo dependentibus, dextram ori admovet, sinistra, quæ cornucopiam videtur tenere clavae nodosæ serpente involutæ innititur; ad pedes hinc canis, inde noctua, cum testudine intermedia collocantur, perseæ arboris fructus inter folia situs verticem ornat. Huic sane simillimum si non ipsissimum signum describit Cuperus in libro, cui titulus: "Harpocrates, sive explicatio imagunculæ argentæ perantiquæ, in figuram "Harpocratis formatæ, 4to. Trajecti, 1637, ex argento alt. unciam cum semisse."

## N° VI.

## N° VI.

*MANUS aenea, seu manus ifiaca*, quæ tres digitos, pollicem nempe, indicem, et medium elevatos; reliquos duos annularem et minimum, contractos ostendit. Varia hieroglyphica, tam per interiorem, quam exteriorem partem sparsa apparent: hæc, tibiæ, cymbala, fistrum, phallus, culter, cithara, gladius; illa, flagrum manubrio instructum, testudo, virga: carpum circumbit anguis, pollicis fastigio imponitur nux pinea, duo digiti elevati sustinent fulmen, quod aquila fortasse unguibus tenebat, quorum vestigia nunc tantum manent, hæc omnia symbola fuscè explicavit Pignorius in Libro suo de mensa Ifiaca, 4to. Amst. 1669. quo manum hanc magnæ Deûm matri ifidi dicatam fuisse, et in ejus pompa circumferri solitam, ex Apuleii Met. XII. docet. Alt. sex uncias.

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## N° VII.

*ICUNCULÆ duæ* e terra figulina vitro obductæ, colore subviridi, cum multis hieroglyphicis, sex pene uncias alt.

*Scarabaci duo*, quorum alter expansas habet alas, et hieroglyphicis est distinctus, hæc animalia “*Αἰγύπτιοι ἐσέβησαν ὡς εἰκόνα ἥλιος ἔμφυχον*,” *Aegyptii quasi animatam solis imaginem venerati sunt.* Porphyrius in Eusebii. Praep. Evang. iii. 3. Perforamina habent ad fila accipienda, nam, secundum Pignorium, “*Aegyptiorum bellatores e gemma lapideve scarabaeos elaborabant, in cum videlicet usum, ut filo trajectos gestarent.*” Men. Ifiac. ex cœruleo quodam lapide Long. unciam cum semisse.

## N° VIII.

## N° VIII.

*MERCURIUS sedens* et petasatus, cætera nudus; sinistra marsupium tenet, dextra vero viam alicui, quem attente aspicit, indice digito extenso, monstrare videtur.

Alt. Sex fere uncias. Hoc signum juvenem formosissimum refert, ut apud antiquos scriptores Mercurium semper descriptum videmus. ita Virgilius, *Aen.* iv. 569.

“ Omnia Mercurio similis, vocemque coloremque,

“ Et crines flavos, et membra decora juventae.”

Nomen ejus Mercurium a mercibus derivatum esse, ait Festus, quod negotiorum omnium aestimatur esse Deus; ob quam causam marsupium fere semper in manu tenet, ex aere.

## GREEK WORKMANSHIP.

*Luni Dei* signum, puerum alatum hilari vultu exhibens, sinistra cornucopiae, dextro humero pharetram gestat, caput hederæ foliis et corymbis redimitum est, in fronte lunam habet crescentem, et in vertice lotum. Imagines hujusmodi quæ multorum deorum symbola ferunt, Panthea appellata sunt; quæ ut melius intelligantur, notandum est, philosophos veteres unum solum Deum admisisse, sed pro ratione diversorum officiorum variis nominibus appellatum. “Fragilis et laboriosa mortalitas in partes ista digessit, infirmitatis suae memor, “ ut portionibus quisque coleret, quo maxime indigeret; itaque nomina alia aliis gentibus, “ et numina in iisdem innumerabilia reperimus.” Plinii *Hist. Nat.* lib. ii. 7. Alt. Quincuncem.

*Priapus Barbatas* in veste fructuum magnam vim ambabus manibus et pene arrecto sustentat; a dextra dependent duo Phalli alt. septuncem.

*Idem*, sub pueruli forma globo insidentis. Alt. sextantem.

*Idem*, puerulus priori similis.

*Caput Barbatum*, intus vacuum, galea armatum, quæ sub mento loro religata apertas aures relinquit; in vertice annulum ad suspendendum habet. Alt. tres uncias.

*Taurus*, ex pulcherrima fabrica; huic similem concipere licet, quem coloni apud Virgilium *Georg.* III. 123.

“ omnes

“ Impendunt curas denso distendere pinguì,

“ Quem legere ducem, et pecori dixere maritum.”

Long. Quincuncem, L. vii.

Seu forsan sub ea specie Jupiter.

In Kemp's Collection (afterwards Dr. Mead's). £. 10. 15s. Mr. Crichelaw.

Lapis sepulchralis, cum hac inscriptione.

DIS. M. L. VISONI RAPONIS

VIX ANN. XXX.

APOLLONIVS PAPAE. FIL

COGNATO. B. M. P.

Alt. pedem et sextantem.

I

N° IX.



## N° IX.

*URCEUS* pulcherrimus, ex aere, cujus ansa ex duobus serpentibus e medusæ capite exilientibus et inter se implicitis constat, collum et basis argenteis crustulis variegantur. Alt. Septuncem.

*Urceus cælatus* cujus os trifolii figura formatur, brevi collo, cui ansa parum supereminens affigitur, quæ in Bacchi faciem definit in summo ventre ubi latior est, cælati operis interestitia argenteis crustulis distinguuntur. Alt. sex Uncias.

The first was purchased at Kemp's sale, by Ld. H. £. 10. 15 s.

The other by Mr. Price, £. 8. 10 s.

Purchased at Dr. Mead's, by T. H. at £. 11.—the other £. 3. 5 s.

## N° X.

*NEPTUNUS* curru per mare vestus in corneola.

*Mars Scorpioni* insidens, sinistra bilanci tenens. Vide de la Chauffe, 3 vol. 169, in achata.

*Mars cunctator*, dextra parazonium, sinistra hastam tenens, dextro pede conculcat cancrum. Vide de la Chauffe, 3 vol. 159, in plasmate Smaragdi.

*Diana Stans*, ambabus manibus hastam tenens, in plasmate Smaragdi.

*Victoria* alata gradiens, dextra corollam, sinistra palmæ ramum tenet, verba hæc insculpta apparent.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΔΩΡΩ ΘΗΑΓΑΩΘ.

Sigillum in Onyche.

*Sileni Caput*, ex auro promineus, et aureo annulo annexum, quem ad libitum circumvolvi potest. ex Herculanei ruinis transmissum fuit.

*Minerva* ΧΑΛΙΝΙΤΙΣ, vel Frænatrix ita cognominata, quod Pegasum domuit, frænatumque Bellerophonti tradidit; hinc galea ejus, ut in hac gemma cernitur, pegaso ornari solebat. Vide Museum Florentinum. Tab. LXI. 2. artificis nomen ΓΝΑΙΟΣ insculptum habet in corneola, forsan recentioris operis.

## N° XI.

N° XI.

Picturæ antiquæ.

GLAUCUS, Phocam, quam capistro tenet, per mare ducens; inferiore corporis parte in piscem deficiente, prout Ovidius cum describit M. XIII. 912.

“ Constitit hic; et tuta loco, monstrumne deusne  
 “ Ille sit ignorans, admiraturque colorem,  
 “ Cæsariemque humeros subiectaque terga tegentem,  
 “ Ultima excipiat quod tortilis inguina piscis.”

In tabella rotundæ formæ, cujus diamet. decem uncias cum semisse continet, £. 7.

Figura virilis demidiata, corpore nudo; caput vero sindone obtegitur, supra quod elevatur sinistra, quo muscoli apparent prominentiones. Alt Septunc. lat. quincunc. hæ duæ tabulæ, apud G. Turnbull æri incisæ, et in libro, a collection of antient paintings, exhibentur.

Idolum Japonicum,, dictum *Quamwon*, caput habet elephantis, manus etiam duodecim, quarum una Idolum fœmineum capite turrito amplectitur, ex metallo æri simillimo. Alt. sex uncias. 2—15.

N° XII.

A MISSALE, (quarto fize.)

Finely wrote on vellum, and illuminated; every page adorned with very elegant miniatures, exceeding beautiful, 13 G. exchanged with Mr. White, Hatter, for some coins stricken by Thomas Simon.

All the preceding articles purchased at Dr. Mead's sale,  
 and described by the Rev. Mr. North.

Several fine Etruscan Vases.

Some good specimens of Roman Earthen-ware and Glass-Lacrymatories, Lamps, and Urns, &c.

An antique Bronze Box, covered with Centaurs and Nymphs, in relievo, perfect and fine; eight inches long.

A Talus; in Bronze.

Many Roman Keys and Instruments, Matrices and Utensils.

A Panthea of most singular form, in Bronze, near two feet high, which we find described as follows:

5 M

Explicatio

## Explicatio Tabulae XXI et XXII. vol. II.

ICEVNEVLAM hanc summo artificio et elegantissima manu elaboratam, in Asia olim, ut fama est, repertam, ad nos e Liguria, ubi eam precio comparaverat, advexit THOMAS HOLLIS ex Hospitio Lincolnienfi Armiger, vir cultioribus literis promovendis egregie natus.

Quod ad Figuræ rationem adinet, istius generis esse creditur, quod PANTHEVM Vetustas nominavit.

DIS DEABVS  
C. IVLIVS C. F. ARN.  
AFRICANVS BRIKEL  
LO. OPTIO. EQVIT.  
COH. VIII. PR. 7. IVLI  
SIGNVM. AEREVM  
PANTHEVM  
D. D. V. L. L. M.  
DEDICATVS. X. KL.  
AVG. BARBARO ET  
REGVLOCOS \*.

P. N. C. 157,

Ideo autem *Pantheae* istae Imagines appellabantur, quoniam plurium Deorum sive Figuras sive Symbola una caelatura complecterentur. Operosa enim Veterum Superstitio, uti Deos ΣΥΝΝΑΟΥΣ, aliquando etiam ΣΥΜΒΟΛΟΥΣ, ita ΣΥΜΜΟΡΦΟΥΣ quoque (fas sit eo uti vocabulo) habuisse traditur.

Ad Bacchi cultum pertinere hanc Effigiem nemo dubitabit, qui istius Dei munera, symbola, aut satellitium denique norit, quo eum ubique legimus stipatum :

BACCHVM in remotis carmina rupibus  
Vidi docentem (credite posteri)  
NYMPHASQUE discantis, et auris  
Capripedum SATYRORVM acutas †.

Caput est ejusmodi, quale FAVNORVM Satyrorumve in antiquis Tabulis perpetuo repraesentatur. Os protervum, labra in risum soluta, frons cornigera, aures acutae, hircinac, planissime ostendunt agreste illud Numen, cujus consortio Bacchus delectari perhibetur.

NYMPHARVM deinde genus, id enim adjiciendum erat, foemineo pectore exertisque mammillis simulare voluit Artifex, et, quod restaret adhuc, Deo ipsi assignare.

In BACCHVM itaque, sive in Bacchi potius symbolicam Imaginem, Figura ipsa definit; Femora nempe videmus, crura tibiaeque in truncum Arboris exire : quae pampinis late serpentinibus vestita, non leve, sed certissimum argumentum subministrat, cujusnam Dei sacra eo commento designarentur. Ea pars praeterea vicem Hermae quodammodo sustinet, cui scilicet superna pars inniteretur ; neque ab ejus forma et figura multum abludit.

\* Reines. Inscript. I. 3. Fabrett. Col. Traj. Cap. VII.

† Horat. II. Carm. 19



Liceat et hoc quoque adjicere, Opificem, quisquis demum fuerit, potuisse Virgilii † illa in animo habere, et voluisse quoque posteritati commendare istius rei memoriam sculptura sua adumbratam,

*Hæc nemora indigenæ Fauni Nymphæque tenebant,  
Genſque virum, truncis et duro robore nati.*

Admonendus est Lector, Baſin non eſſe ejusdem vel ætatis vel artificii, cujus eſt Imago. Inveteravit opinio, eam a celeberrimo MICH. ANGELO fuiſſe exſculptam, et in unoquoque latere ita ornatam uti hic deſcribitur.

[The above is taken from the Deſcription publiſhed by the Society of Antiquaries, who engraved two deſigns of it in 1756.]

A ſword, the handle of which is three Lions, cut out of the ſteel, very high finiſhed, by Cellini.

A ſilver box, highly finiſhed, in alto relievo ; in the center Mars and Venus. The Seaſons, with ornaments round the ſides, executed by Cellini.

Some works in Ivory.

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Nº XIII.

*Pan* on an African Goat, a vaſe in his hand, and holding by the horn. Bronze.

Semicaper nimis laſſatus amoribus, acrem

Scando capram retinens cornua ; cede nolæ.

J. Gronov.

Siat quoque capra ſimul : nymphæ paviffe feruntur

Cretides. infanti lac dedit illa Jovi.

Ovid. Faſt. 1. 3.

Purchaſed of Mr. Blackwood.

A fitting figure of Iſis, in Baſalte, ſix inches high.

Nos in Templâ tuam Romana recipimus Iſin.

Lucan, 1. 8.

Brought from Paleſtine, by Dr. Pococke.

*A Satyr kneeling* on one knee, rough and ugly.

Concurrunt Satyri turgentiaque ora parentis

Rident, percuſſo claudicat ille genu :

Ridet et ipſe Deus.—Ovid. Faſt. 1. 3.

It is ſaid there remain thirteen of theſe figures, and that they were uſed to hold lamps to light a grotto of Tiberius in the iſland of Caprea.

† VIII. *Æn.* 314.

*A lamp, in form of a foot, with a sandal.*

Dulcis conscia lectuli lucerna !

Quidvis facias licet, tacebo.—Martial, l. 14.

Vide Museum de Wilde.

*An Egyptian Sphinx, in stone.*

Terruit Aoniam volucris, Leo, Virgo, triformis

Sphinx, volucris pennis, pedibus fera, fronte puella.

Auson Idyl 11.

*A standing figure of Isis, with the scourges in her hands folded cross her breast.*

— Sic numina Memphis

In vulgus proferre solet.

• Claudian.

*Jupiter Serapis, vel Ægyptius, ut videtur, pallio solo indutus, modium capite gestans, ac  
lorum utraque manu tenens : dextantem-alt.* Mr. Diggs.

Plerique tamen auctores sunt, ut credamus non esse hunc alium quam Josephum Patriarcham, si deducas a שׁוֹר bos et אב pater, vel a שׂר princeps et אב nam hac ratione bovi comparat eum Jacobus pater ejus. Deut. xxxiii. 17. Vide Kempiana monum.

This figure is highly finished, well preserved and most beautiful for attitude and dignity. It has been matter of speculation what he held in his hands which Ainsworth has well explained.

*Vas ovatum, ex marmore viridi, quod ophiten sive Serpentinum vocant, cum operculo factum.* Alt. Pedem cum triente.

#### N° XIV.

*A LARGE medallion in marble of the head of Nero, alto relievo.*

Ditto, with a corona radiata, in bas-relievo, was over a portal in Attica ; the reverse a figure of Roma Triumphans : both of excellent workmanship, and in highest preservation.

*A Bas-relievo of a Medusa's head, in stone, beautiful, and of Greek workmanship.*

*A Bust of Otbo ; very rare.*

*A Figure of M. Brutus, in alto relievo, sixteen Inches high.—A fragment.—Greek workmanship.*

*A Bust of Minerva, of exquisite beauty ; with helmet and snakes surrounding her breast ; brought from Rome by William Lloyd, Esq.—Greek workmanship, and was much valued by T. H.*

*A Head*

*A Head of Minerva*, larger than life, adorned with her helmet, and her hair falling down her neck—in great majesty and dignity ;—of the noblest Greek workmanship, and in the finest preservation. Probably was erected in some Basilica; there is no cicurput, though it is as entire as ever it was.

*A Head of Domitian*, in the character of Bacchus crowned with ivy; larger than life, and in perfect preservation.

*A Head of M. Angelo*, in the character of Pan, by himself.

N° XV.

A Portraite of

FRANCES daughter of O. Cromwell, youngest of the four daughters; first married to Robert Rich, Esq. (grandson and heir of the Earl of Warwick) who died 1658, without issue; afterward married to Sir John Russel, of Chippenham, Cambridgeshire. Walker pinxit circa ann. 1656. A fitting figure, with pigeons on a table.

Walker painted Oliver Cromwell's own picture.

In Peck's *Desiderata*, page 500. vol. II. there is a certificate of the Honourable Robert Rich's marriage with this Lady, Nov. 11, 1657. in the presence of the Lord Protector and others, in the church of St. Martin's in the Fields.

*An impression in wax* of a medal of Elizabeth Cromwell, the Protector's wife.

An original Drawing of Lieutenant General Ludlow, taken from the life when in England on the Revolution, purchased of George Vertue, 1754.—The print of the first edition of his memoirs was taken from this drawing.

T. H.

N° XVI.



N° XVI.

M E D A L S and G E M S,

Engraved by Laurence Natter, *penes* T. HOLLIS, Esq.

*Carolus Sacville*, magister, F.L.

*Reverse, ab origine*, a figure of Harpocrates, with the emblems of masonry. Arg.

L. Natter, Florent.

*Georgius II. R. Optimo Principi.* A Temple with Minerva, an excellent medal,  
MDCCLXI.

*A medal of the prince of Orange proclaimed Stadholder.* R. *Spes publica*,  
MDCCXXXVII.

*A medal of the Prince and Princess of Orange.* R. *Propago felix. Gulielm. et Carolina.*

*The Coronation medals of Georgius III. and Charlotta.* Arg. R. *Patriæ Ovanti.*

[Some persons would have had it inscribed *Patriâ Ovante.*]

[The artist did not succeed so well in this performance, owing to want of time, the place and manner of striking it, and various other circumstances.]

• *Georgius III. R. Charlotta.*

*Charlotte, Reverse. Ob feliciss. M. Br. Princ. nativitat. die XII Aug. MDCCCLXII.*

The premium medal of the University of Leyden. Arg.

The arms of T. H. on an Onych. *Placidam sub Libertate Quietem.*

N° XVII.

G E M S in Natter's Books, *penes* T. H.

P L A T E IV.

Harpocrates on a Cornelian.

This graving is truly antique and in the middle way of the Greeks; was in the possession of L. Natter.

P L A T E VIII.

A Soldier behind a Shield, on a Cornelian.

This piece may be looked upon as a monument of antique engraving very curious, and of a singular signification.—Purchased at Medina's Sale.

PLATE

P L A T E XX.

Mars on a Prime d'Emeraude.

The whole figure of Mars; the left foot stands on a crab, the usual symbol of luxury and lasciviousness: whence we may conclude, that the artist would insinuate, that a warrior ought to overcome those vices.—The merit of this piece is, upon the whole, equal to many that are preserved in the greatest collections: was in Dr. Mead's collection.

P L A T E XXII.

A Faun with a Thyrsis, the Skin of a Tiger, and a Vase on an Onyx. [Nicolo.]

This piece is valuable for its beauty, and the correctness of the design; though in such a small space that the best eye is hardly able to examine it without the help of a microscope. The artist probably employed the point of a diamond for the face and hair.—Purchased of Natter by T. H.

P L A T E XXIII.

Bonus Eventus.

Exceeding well engraved, and in a good taste, on a red Cornelian, with a convex surface, and admirably polished in the inside.

Engravings of this kind, so exceeding well executed, are become very scarce, even in the most celebrated collections. This is an excellent original antique.

P L A T E XXVII.

A Bacchante on Beryl.

Of this T. H. has an antique Cameo, on a blue paste.

P L A T E XXXI.

Diana Venatrix, on a Prime d'Emeraude.

The proportion of the figure, and the taste of the dress, are very good. The attitude of the figure is very genteel, the dress is light and easy, and does not lessen the grace of the contour.—This stone belonged formerly to Lord Halifax, then to Dr. Mead, and last in Mr. Hollis's collection.

A Description.

A Description and Drawing of the Britannia Triumphans, a Cameo composed and engraved in the Year 1754, by Laurence Natter, originally of Biberach in Suabia, and now in Vine-street, Piccadilly, London, Lithographer.

#### THE SUBJECT.

THIS Cameo represents the Figure of Britannia sitting in full-front, in a chair of state, with a staff in her right-hand, on which is the Cap of Liberty, and leaning upon her left arm on an elbow of the chair, taking slight hold of some of her robes with that hand. Behind her, on one side, is a Victory, crowning her with laurel with the right-hand, and carrying a palm-branch in the left. On her right-side, is a shield with the British Arms, supported by a Lion. At the back of these, is a trophy, with so much of the usual armour and insignia as the circumstances of the stone would admit; and as at a distance appears a Pyramid. On her left-side, before the Victory, is a British Genius, that pours out fruits and flowers from a Cornucopia upon the ground, where there is carelessly lying an Axe, the emblem of Power and Justice. Under the feet of the Britannia are these two letters, L. N. being the initial letters of the engraver's name. Beneath these is this inscription, IAN. 30, 1648.

As this Cameo is remarkable, among other respects, for the beauty and number of the colors, which consist of no less than five distinct divisions, and required the utmost skill of the artist on that account to adapt them with suitable advantage to the dignity of his subject, without hurting the regularity or ease of the general composition, it will therefore be proper to give a minute detail of the uses that were made of them, thereby to explain more fully and clearly the drawing which is hereto annexed.

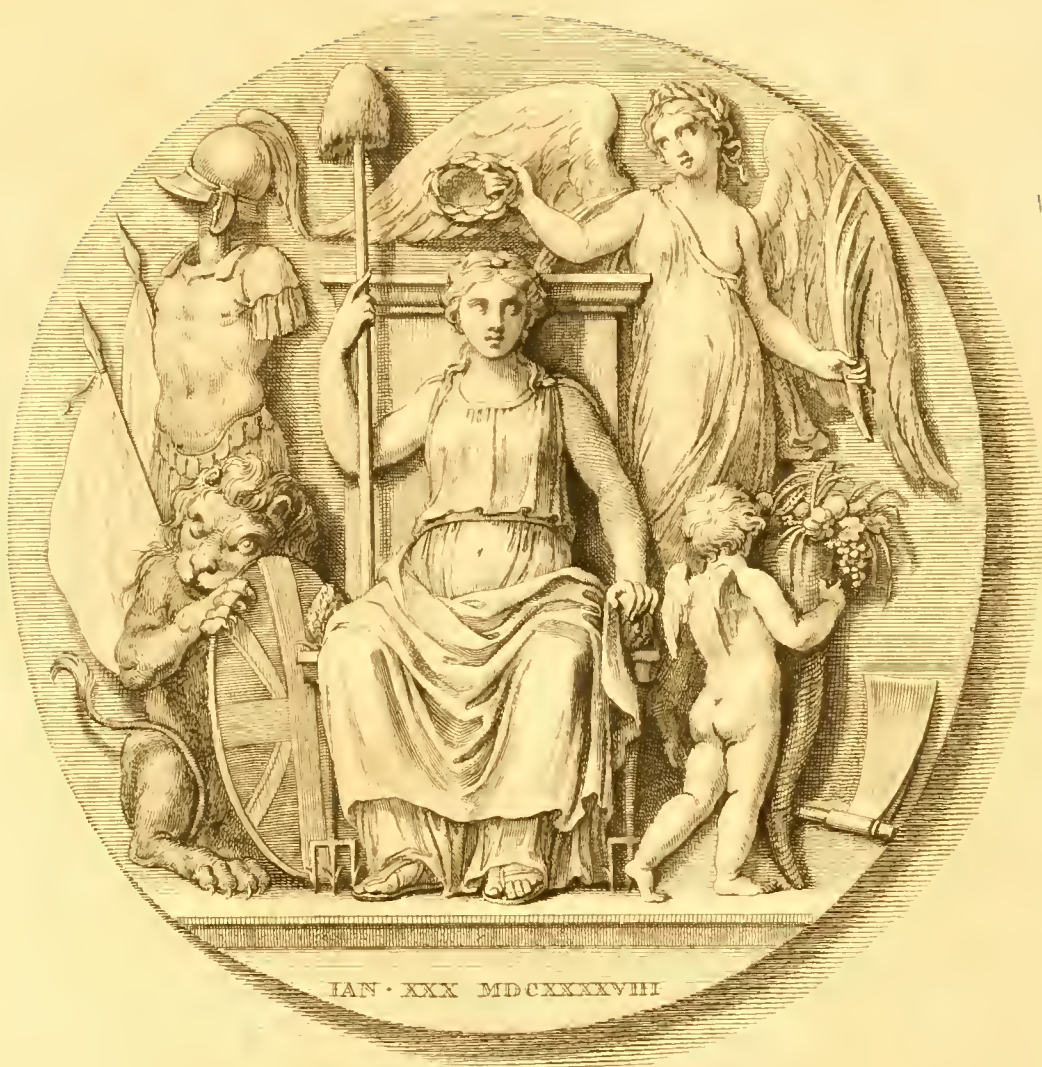
#### EXPLANATION OF THE COLORS.

The head and wings of the Genius, and the great robe that covers the cap and knees of the Britannia, marked with strong diagonal lines in the large drawing, are of the uppermost and deepest brown color; as see line 5, in the small drawing that shews the depth and divisions of the stone.

The tunica being closer to the body, and the brown color being therefore thinner, it appears yellow. The staff, from the ground to the hand, is yellow likewise.

The





A FREE SKETCH OF A BRITANNIA VICTRIX, ETCHED AFTER A  
 CAMEO GRAVEN VPON A GEM OF FIVE COLORS, WHICH IS IN THE  
 POSSESSION OF THOMAS HOLLIS OF LINCOLN'S INNE, F·R·S·F·A·S·  
 ON THE REVERSE OF THE CAMEO IS GRAVEN AN INTAGLIA OF  
 THE HEAD OF ALGERNON SYDNEY, AFTER THE PICTURE OF HIM  
 WHICH IS AT PENSHEVST, WITH THIS INSCRIPTION ROVND IT,  
 "GUILTY, DO YOV CALL THAT GVILT!"



The head and arms of the Britannia, the drapery, which she holds in her left hand, her feet, the footstool, one point of the chair, the shield of the British Arms, and the whole body of the Genius (the head and wings as before-mentioned excepted) are white, answering to line 4.

The chair, the upper part of the staff, with the Cap of Liberty, the Lyon that supports the arms, the ground on which the feet of the Britannia rests, the Cornucopia, and the Axe upon the ground, are of the thick brown color, answering line 3. The Laurel and Palm branch in the hands of the Victory appear yellow, the brown color being nearer the white in those places, and consequently more transparent.

The Pyramid, the Trophy with its Insignia, the Victory, and the Ground on which are engraved the words *IAN. 30. 1648.* are all white, answering to line 2.

At the back of the whole composition is a fine brown transparent color, which serves as the ground to it, and answers to line 1.

But to form an exact and thorough idea of this singular and valuable Gem, the curious lovers must have recourse to the original itself.

N. B. Although in working this Cameo the ground unavoidably became very thin, yet the artist ventured to engrave an Intaglia on the Reverse of it, representing the bust of Algernon Sidney; in which the face is three-quarters shewn. Round the Bust are these words, *GVILTY! DO YOU CALL THAT GVILT?* This Intaglia was taken from a drawing of Mr. Vertú's, after an excellent original painting in oil, by Justus ab Egmond, now at Penshurst.



N° XVIII.

ROMAN MEDALS.

Brutus Ahala. Arg.  
 C. Caffi. imp. Aur.  
 Brutus. imp. Eid. Mar. Aur.  
 Two of Brutus. Arg. one from Baron Stofch's Collection. Eid. Mar.  
 Brutus. R. Lentulus. Vase, &c.  
 Leg. Costa. R. imp. Brutus, with a Trophy.  
 The head of Libertas. Reverse, 4 figures, insc. Brutus.  
 Claudius de Britannis.  
 Cæsar Britannicus, Greek. æs.  
 Antoninus Pius de Britannis. æs mag.  
 Antoninus Pius. æs med.  
 Commodus. æs mag.  
 Sept. Severus. æs mag.  
 Ditto. Arg.  
 Caracalla. Arg.  
 Matidia Pietas. Arg.  
 Carausius R. Galley Justitia Felicitas. Arg.  
 ——— Providentia. æs.  
 Alectus. R. Triremis. Virtus.  
 Julianus. Securitas reipub. æs.  
 An Augustarius Fred. II. Aur. 1224.  
 A gold Braçeat, H. VI. Romanorum imperator.  
 The several Tesseræ.—Gold and Silver.

N° XIX

## N° XIX.

## Gold and Copper Coins.

CUNO.

Tascia.

Cuthred, and a Saxon penny of Walpfaſh. [Woolſton.]

Edwin, King of Northumberland, A. D. 617,

EDFIN Rex A. [Anglorum] the King's head.

Rev. SEEVEL. ON. EOFER (Eopeppic, Yorke].

[This is juſtly eſteemed an admirable curioſity, as being an *unic*, the antienteſt coin of the Engliſh nation, and of the firſt Chriſtian King of Northumberland.]

The Reverse alſo ſhews the great antiquity of the Saviles in Yorkſhire, which has obliged the world with ſome authors of the firſt rank, and continues yet to flouriſh in this neighbourhood.

This is Thoreſby's account of this coin.

See Sir Andrew Fountain's Tables, 8. and Mr. O. Walker, 8.

Ethelnoth—EDELNOD. SNOTENGEHAM. Nottingham.

This is a very curious well-ſtamp'd coin; but by ſome accident both ſides alike, ſo that there is no King's name; and perhaps there never was any other name deſigned than Ethelnoth's, who was a nobleman deſervedly celebrated in the Saxon annals for his ſervices againſt the Danes, A. D. 894. as appears by Dr. Gibſon's curious edition of the Saxon Chronicle, p. 94. in which century we find the names of Ceolnott and Plegmund upon their reſpective monies; and perhaps this noble ealdorman oþman (as he is there ſtiled) might have the ſame privilege granted him as theſe Archbiſhops by royal authority. I am rather induced to offer this conjecture becauſe it is one of the minted coins of thoſe ages, and therefore leſs likely to be done *incuriâ monetarii*. Thoreſby, X. xx.

*Plegmund*, 890—choſen by God and all his ſaints (ſaith the Saxon Chronicle) to be Archbiſhop of Canterbury. He was a perſon of excellent worth, for learning, prudence, and devotion, at firſt a hermit, living near Cheſter, whence he was brought by King Alfred, both to inſtruct him when young, and to adviſe him when he came to his kingdom; by whom alſo he was thus advanced; he was in great veneration in the whole church, as appears by the Archbiſhop of Rhemes's letters: he deceaſed anno 923.

On the Reverse of this medal is the pallium; from this ſeems derived the arms of the Archbiſhoprick.

This of Plegmund is not unlike the pedum of the Oriental Biſhops.

*Ceolnoth*, consecrated Archbishop September 1st, 830, and anno 831 received the pallium.  
He died 870. He was commonly called the good bishop.

King *Eadred*. An. Dom. 946. EADRED. REX. the King's head.

Rev. ADELVERD. MONETA. This is the first of this monarch in Sir Andrew Fountain's Numismata; but is not yet in Cambden. Thoresby.

King Edgar, An. 959. EADGAR. REX. Rever. *Durmod Mone*. our common chroniclers are taken with this King's title of *peaceable*, that they almost wholly waive his wars; but it appears, by a charter of his (in Cambden) that he conquered the greatest part of *Ireland*, with her noble city of *Dublin*; of which noted passage this rare coin seems to be a confirmation, it being found in digging among some antient ruins in Dublin; from whence it was sent me, under the notion of an Irish coin, and so it seems in some respects, though of our Saxon monarchs, during whose wars it seems to have been coined there. *Durmod*, or *Dermot*, being a name sufficiently known to those who are conversant in the Irish annals.

This is in Sir And. Fountain's, V. 6. O. W. VIII. 24.

Don. Rev. Jos. Boyce, V. D. M. Dubl.

EADGAR. REX. The King's head well performed.

Rev. VIRIM. MONETA. HVNTE. Huntendon. This rare piece is in neither of the said authors, being since their edition presented to me by Thomas Fairfax, of Menston, Esq.  
Thoresby.

Pillem Pax.

A Groat of Edward III. villa callaria.—Some Aquitain coins.

A Chaife of Edward the Black Prince, bought at Mr. Grainger's sale, £. 25. 14s. 6d.  
a celebrated gold coin.

A Hardi of Aquitain.—Edward III. ditto R. II. and H. VIII.

Hen. V. A Gros or Blanc.—H. V. and H. VI. villa callesia.

Peter the Cruel King of Castile. Aur.

Three pieces of monie of Christian III. King of Denmark, who is mentioned by Milton.

A Monton of John, 1354.

A Penny and Half-penny of John.

A Groat of John Baliol.

Henry VIII. T. W. Thomas Wolfey.

Six-pence of Elizabeth, by Philip Mastrelle, an excellent workman in the Tower, but was executed for this dye; that wise Princess never pardoning for coining money, as it injures the subject, and degrades the state.

Sixpence and threepence of Elizabeth, purchased at a high price, in finest preservation.

James, a Laurell'd Unite, or xx Shilling-piece, a pattern gold.

A remarkable



A remarkable Medal, struck for the use of the Sommer Islands, said to be a *Unique*.

S I R,

The following seems to be the explication of the medal you did me the favor to shew me, which illustrated a very interesting piece of history.

In the year 1609 a very considerable company was formed in England, consisting of most of the principal nobility, gentry, and trading towns and corporations, to the number of a thousand persons and upwards, who had a grant of all the Southern parts of North America, by the name of Virginia.

That same Sir George Somers was appointed governor of this colony; and he, with Sir Thomas Gates, were sent to establish it: but in their passage they happened to be cast away on the islands of Bermudas. Sir George Somers himself first discovered them, and steered the ship to them, where she ran between two rocks, and lay as in a dock.

Upon those islands they found such a number of wild hogs that they killed two and thirty immediately, and, after subsisting upon them for nine months, they victualled a vessel with them, with which they got safe to Virginia.

Upon their arrival at Virginia they found the colony in such want of provisions, that Sir George Somers returned to those islands for supply of the hogs: here he died, and was buried, at a place afterwards called George Town.

In consequence of this discovery, those islands, and all others lying within 300 leagues of the main land of North America, were granted to the foresaid company, by charter, bearing date March 12, 1611-12.

The company sold those islands to some of their own members who were incorporated by Royal Charter, and had a grant of those islands, by the name of *Somer Islands*, others read *Sommer's Islands*; and that year, 1612, they settled a colony upon them, which has ever since subsisted.

It seems to have been upon this occasion that the medal was struck, as it represents most of the events here mentioned.

We may read the inscription, *Somer Islands*, C. R. Charta Regia; and not *Carolo Rege*, as it was before the reign of that King.

I am, with all respect and esteem,

Your most obedient,

London, Aug. 28, 1764.

and very humble Servant,

JOHN MITCHELL.

The figures XII. over the hog, it is unknown what they mean.  
Charles.

A Three pound peice, treble unite, 1644. Oxon. *very rare*.

A Five pound piece, 1644. Oxon. *very scarce*.

A Pattern piece, for a Unite or a Broadpiece. Floreat Concordia.

A Twenty Shilling Piece, 1644. Relig. Protes; the last time of coining a peice of the value of a pound sterling in silver, and is very rare.

Oxford

Oxford Crown, 1644.—Shilling, 1644, Religio Protestantium.

Quarter Shilling, 1645. a Penny.

A Pattern-piece for a halfpenny, in a mixed metal; the King has a radiated crown.

A large collection of Simon's Coins and Medals.

The Half-crown Commonwealth, guarded with angels, 1651. By Ramage.

N. E. (New England) Shilling, Six-pence, Three-pence, and Two-pence, *very scarce*, 1662.

Seven Leaden tokens, under H. VIII. Eliza. and James, *very rare*, published by Snelling.

Five counterfeit Sterling, taken notice of by Snelling.

A head of Sir Henry Vane, cut in Steel, by Simon.

A Puncheon of the head of Algernon Sydney, in Steel, by Simon.

K. James 6th, An. 1567, his Thirty-shilling piece of an ounce weight, and of the very first year, inscribed, JACOBVS VI. DEI GRATIA. REX SCOTORVM, the shield of Scotland crowned, with the initial letters, I. R. crowned also at the side of it.

*Reverse.* A drawn sword, with a crown on the point of it; a hand pointing thereto, with the value xxx. and the year 1567, circumscribed with the generous saying of Trajan, upon the delivery of the Prator's sword: Pro me. si mereor in ME; to which, no doubt, the King was helped by his tutor Buchanan, in 1571, has the additional stamp of a thistle crowned, when the price of money was so much advanced (as it was before he came for England) that it was current at three pounds Scotch. Vide Thoresby, the same in 1570 and 1571.

Sir Will. Dick of Braids copper coin, allowed to be current among his colliers and salt makers, WILLIAM DICK OF BRAID, with W. D. *Reverse*, VIRTUTI FORTVNA COMES MERCVRV'S ROD SERPENTS ET CORNVCOPIAE.

The existence of the leaden crown piece of James II. has been doubted; in this collection there is a very fine one, in perfect preservation. Mr. Lowth of Paternoster-Row very obligingly favoured the collector with it. Mr. Thoresby's account of it is very exact and true.

The new crownpieces have the entire stile about the King on horseback.

Jac. II. DEI. GRATIA, MAG. BRIT. FRA. ET HIB. REX.

*Reverse.* A crown in the midst of four separate shields of arms crowned,

CHRISTO. VICTORE. TRIVMPHO. ANNO DOM. 1690.

Before King James left Ireland, it seems that even the Brass and Copper failed; so that there was not enough to supply another coinage, and recourse was had to pewter dishes, &c. and these were to be coined into money; and a few peices were actually coined, and a proclamation for the currency of it was prepared; but king William passing the Boyne hindered the publishing of it. A bag of 150 crown peices of this metal was found in the treasury of Dublin by my friend, who presented this great curiosity to me. The fashion, inscription, and bigness of it are the same as the Brass Crown; but there is this Legend added on the rim, which those peices want,

MELIORIS. TESSERA FATI. ANNO. REGNI. SEXTO.

The crown in the centre is of a different metal, *viz.* Copper.

Of

Of these they coined so very few, that I never heard of any, nor met with any person that saw any, but those few that accidentally fell into my hands \*.

Georgius II. D. G. Rex.

*Reverse.* A leafed Rose, crowned, inscribed, ROSE AMERICANA, 1733.

Utile Dulci. The only piece known [a pattern-piece] supposed to be designed for American coinage, in yellow metal.

Many of the finest specimens of Tokens, Town, and Siege Pieces.

Specimens of Coins and Monies of most nations, Oriental and others, and of the different artists, to shew the progress and decline at various periods.

N° XX.

MODERN MEDALS.

AS a Bronze for Medals is much wanted in England, the following may suggest some improvement, from Keyser.

It is now near a century since the Hamerani have been in the highest reputation for cutting dyes for medals, &c. They have also invented a varnish, which not only gives a fine gloss to copper-coins, but also preserves them. This secret is also known to Hedlinger, in Sweden, Geyffel at Nuremberg, and St. Urbain at Nancy: St. Urbain so far let me into it, as to assure me it is a powder strewed on the metal, which is afterwards by fusion strongly incorporated with the metal; the best varnish is of a deep brown colour. Another composition is used in France and England; but neither the one nor the other is proof against damp, which is known to prejudice copper, so that all medals made of that metal must be kept in a dry place to retain their lustre. They are cleaned by brushing them with tartar boiled in water. Linseed oil rubbed hot on leaden medals is a good preservative to them.

*A fine medal of Andria Doria, P. P. Rever. A Galley. æs.*

*N. Tronus, Dux Ven, 1470. R. St. Nicolas.*

*Marcus Antonius Memmo, Dux Venetiarum, 1612, Dupre.*

*Effigies Hieronomi Scotti Ann. Ab. 1582.*

*Johannes Scheyewe Branbantie, Cancellarius.*

[*These three large medallions of excellent Workmanship, Arg*]

A large medal of Frederic King of Bohemia from Mr. Berch, gold.

\* Mr. Purland's Letter in the Philosophical Transactions, N° 297. from Dublin.



Paulus III. Pont. Max. Ann XVI. Arg. very rare, said to be designed by Raphael, in fine preservation, from Stofsch's collection. Bonannius, Venutius.

Franciscus Junior de Carrara Padiens. Dni. Dies 10 Julii recuperavit Paduam, was killed 1407. imp. inscrip.

Alex. Dux Medi. R. Solatia luctus exigua ingentis. Arg. by Cellini.

John Van Leiden, 1536. Arg. Anabaptistarum Rex. Luchius.

Chiffletus. Arg.

Gerard a Loon. nummograph. Arg.

Zuichem [Zuinglius] Arg.

Car. Lud. D. G. Dux Bavarix, R. A Lion crowned resting, concedo, non cedo, 1645.

A. S. Arg.

Leyden premium medal, to Dr. Gale, 1699. Aur.

The medal of James [pretender] his head, cujus est. R. England, reddite. Linneus.

Carolus Renaldus Berch Holmienfis. R. In absentiam solatium fecit amica manus Hedlinger. Arg.

Several medals of Pisoni and Sperandi, 1448. Some English and French medals; the head and letters gold, the field copper. Many singular papal medals.

Brother Nicolas, a Hermit, in great veneration for the purity of his doctrines, which paved the way for the Reformation in Switzerland. Hedlinger:

Christina. R. A Globe, ne mi Basta ne mi Bisogna, 1680. æs. Hamerani.

The Leiden Coin.—Pugno pro patria, 1574. Arg. on a square piece of silver.

A head of General Fleetwood, æs. Simon.

A piece of money of Ragozky. R. Pro Libertate, 1705.

#### B u s t

Matilda, Filia Henrici II. Regis Angliæ et Saxonix

Mater Ottonis IV. imperatoris

Prius Ducis Aquitanix

Henrici Palatini Rhen. Ducis Saxonix

Wilhelmique Statoris Domus Brunsvicensis

Revers. The Bust of the Princess Sophia

Sophia ex Stirpe Electorali Palatina

Neptis Jacobi I. Regis Magnæ Britannix

Vidua Ernesti Augusti

Electoris Brunsvicensis et Luneburgensis Angliæ Princeps

Ad Successionem nominata MDCCI.

Two medals, which were stricken by order of the Senate of Sweden, on their deliverance from the plot in 1756. It is probable the dyes of them are at this time destroyed.

*The Figure of Liberty*, with her cap and wand, resting on a column, on which are placed the charters of Sweden, and pointing to this inscription, *Libertas manens*.

R. Deo. O. M. Averrunco malorum Sueciæ, Grates Publicæ, cum supplicationibus Anniverfariis



N° XXI.

Some of the ENGRAVINGS.

*A Saxon Penny of BERTVVLFF, 839. unpublished.*

*A Saxon Penny of EADVIG. REX. R. OSVLD. unpublished.*

*A Penny of William the Norman.*

VILLEM REX, head with sword. R. LONDON.

To these coins of William the Norman, having the name BRAND as Monetarius, may be added,

Two of EDWARD the Confessor, EDVERD. REX—BRAND ON VALI [Wallingford].

*Reverse.* Crofs and Four Birds; *vide* Fountain.

EAVVEARD REX BRAND ON PALI [Walingford]. Head with Scepter.

A Penny of Henry I. unp. 1100.

HENRICVS. REX. ON. HEREFORD..

HENRICVS. REX. ON COLEC. [Colchester] AKEMVAL.

An Irish Groat of Edward III. good silver, and well struck. unp.

EDVARD REX. DVBLIN. CIVI.

The Petition Crown of Charles II. by T. Simon; formerly in the possession of Chancellor

Clarendon, then in the collection of the Earl of Oxford; from thence to Martin Folkes,

President of the Royal Society, Feb. 20, 1756, in the possession of Thomas Hollis, Esq.

The Portrait of *Elizabeth*.

Qui Leo de Juda est, et Flos de Jesse Leonis,  
Protegat et Flores, Elizabetha, tuos.

———— of *James I.*

———— of *Prince Charles.*

———— of *Frederic* of Bohemia; see page 30. *memoirs.*

———— of *Princess Elizabeth.*

———— of *Prince Frederic* their eldest son.

Superata tellus sydera donat.

Henricus III. et Maria Medici.

Philippus III. D. G. Hisp. Reg. Infan.

Princess Mary of Austria, Daughter to Philip III. king of Spain.

Engravings in silver, Simon Pafs fecit, London, probably for tops of snuff-boxes.

Impressions were taken from these plates of Simon Pafs, as curious, though not designed for printing.



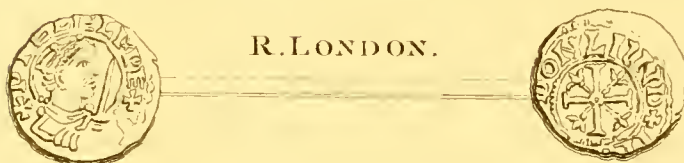
A SAXON PENNY OF BERTVULF. 839.



A PENNY OF EADVIG REX. 955.



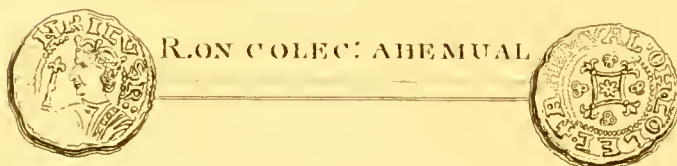
A PENNY OF WILLIAM THE NORMAN.



A PENNY OF HENRY I. REX.



A PENNY OF HENRY I.



AN IRISH GROAT OF EDWARD IV. REX.



IN THE COLLECTION OF THE LATE THOMAS HOLLES ESQ.



Frederick King of Bohemia, his Princess, and Son, mentioned page 30.

A large gold medal of him, and a medal of his son Charles Lewis, by A. Simon. Arg.

A medal of this Princess, in Perry's English medals (*rare and curious*).

A Bronze Figure of Silenus, purchased of Padre Pancrazi, at Naples, from Herculaneum. Greek workmanship. The plate given to T. B. by T. H.

Leonardi da Vinci's Picture at Milan was cleaned by Belloti, in 1736, and the convent gave £. 500. for doing it; and the secret was given to the Convent. Vide Rogers's Book of Drawings, 1778.

This agrees with the first account of its having been cleaned by Belloti, and fixes the time. Memoirs, page 18.

Sarcophagi, Ossuaria, vel Cineraria, vel Lachrymatoria, præter lampadas.

It has been remarked, by an ingenious modern, that instead of running out into a pompous panegyrick upon the virtues of the deceased, the conjugal inscriptions upon the sepulchral monuments of antient Rome, mention singly, as the most significant encomiums, how many years the parties lived together in full and uninterrupted harmony; and he adds, surely those who have recommended little separations as necessary to revive the langours of the married state, have ill understood its most refined gratifications: there is no satiety in the mutual exchange of tender offices.

A Bust of Marcus Aurelius, with the *Laticlavia* of excellent workmanship, out of the Palazzo Barbarini. This Emperor, though absolute Lord of the Romans, was guilty of no one vice or meanness, and wrote for the improvement of his own mind one of the best of books.

This inscription: C. MENANIO. BATVLLO, is taken notice of in Kemp's Monumenta Vetusstat. Foramen exhibit in qua mulieres mercede alieno in funere conductæ quæ præficæ dicebantur, lachrymas suas phialis acceptas infundebant. unde et illa dicendi forma in monumentis sepulchralibus sæpe insculpta videtur: *cum Lacrymis*. Was purchased at that sale by Mr. Ward for Dr. Mead, pede et septunc. lat. 7 poll. alt.

The Head of Timoleon, intaglia on a carbuncle.

This great man, after having rescued Sicily from tyrants, and restored the Sicilians to a state of freedom, and the privilege of living by their own laws, was buried magnificently, at the public expence, in a place called *Timoleonteum*. Vide Plutarch.

The Gem which it is engraved upon is a most beautiful carbuncle, which was much esteemed by the antients, insomuch that Ovid ornaments the Palace of the Sun with it.

“ Regia folis erat sublimibus alta Columnis,

“ Clara micante auro flammæque imitante *Pyropo*.”

And of this piece of art it may justly be said——*materiam superat opus*.



*Bos Cornupeta* ΑΑΜΩΝ onychi incisum. Aillonis opus.

Engraved by Bartolozzi, dedicated to Mr. Hollis, by Abbate Bracci, and intended for his book of gems.

A medal of Pyrrhus.

ΦΟΙΛΑΣ-ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ.

Caput Plithiae, matris Pyrrhi, velatum.

R. Fulmen, Æreus, Haym. Panuta. Frölich.

Pyrrhus rex Epiri, ante christum 274. ex Italia redus, Macedoniam subigit, Peleponnesum ingressus, in urbe Argos misere perit.

*Ele-cameo*—on a sardonich of four colors.

The same subject. cameo in Agata di Duca Odescalchi. Bartoli.

In the Duke of Marlborough's collection a cameo on a sardonich.

Both different.

The Gems from Medina's sale.

A *Thuribulum*. The learned and ingenious Count Caylus, sensible that in his situation it would have been dangerous to a liberal and ingenuous mind to descant upon government or religion from the love also of independence, and un éloignement invincible pour la servitude de la cour, turned his mind to the study of antiquity and the fine arts; and in consequence of this he has obliged the world with seven volumes in quarto of various antiquities, designed and engraved with his own hands.

Several pieces, which were in Mr. Hollis's collection, are engraved in these books, among others in the 4th volume, page 281, is an engraving and description of a beautiful *Acerra*, or *Thuribulum*, as follows:

Il a fallu les soins et l'amitié du P. Paciaudi pour rassembler les morceaux épars de cette belle *Acerre* ou coffret destiné pour renfermer l'encens, selon l'usage des Romains dans leurs sacrifices. Ce monument dont il m'a rendu possesseur, est complet, à la réserve de la partie plate qui couvroit la dessous, et qui tenoit à deux mouvemens de charnière dont on voit encore les places.

La répétition des reliefs de ce monument ne demande que le dessein et l'explication de deux des quatre dont cette *Acerra* ou ce *Thuribulum* est composé. La plaque principale, celle qui est la plus ornée, est remplie par le buste d'un Romain, traité avec la plus grande faillie: la tête parée de ses seuls cheveux, est renversée, et présente l'expression de la douleur: aucune espèce d'attribut ne l'accompagne et ne sert à le caractériser. un de ses épaules est couverte d'une draperie, et l'autre est nue: ce buste est entouré par deux cornes d'abondance disposées de façon que les fleurs et les fruits dont elles sont remplies couronnent la tête, et que les deux extrémités inférieures sont renouées par un ruban: cette espèce de bordure est soutenue par la main de deux centaures placés de chaque côté; ils ont chacun une femme assise sur leur croupe, et cette attention qu'ils ont pour soutenir le portrait, ne les occupe point

point assez pour les empêcher d'embrasser de la main qui leur reste libre, ces jeunes nymphes.

J'ai vu peu de monumens antiques présenter autant d'action et de mouvement : les parties de cheval sont étendues et bien disposées ; leur queue est volutée et bien jetée ; en un mot, la pensée et l'exécution s'accordent pour rendre ce meuble de sacrifice recommandable et précieux.

Les centaures ont l'air empressé, car on voit une lyre aux pieds de l'un, et un chalumeau au dessous de l'autre : ils ont laissé tomber ces instrumens ; si l'on n'aime mieux croire qu'ils ont échappé aux Nymphes ; mais les anciens, loin de refuser les connoissances aux centaures, leur ont souvent accordé de l'intelligence et de la sagacité. La seule différence que l'on puisse remarquer dans les deux plaques des grandes cotés consiste dans le buste ; la place qu'il occupe sur l'une, est nue dans l'autre, mais elle est toujours environnée des cornes d'abondance et soutenue par les mêmes centaures dont l'action et les attributs sont absolument pareils, et doivent être sortis du même moule. Les tenons de la charnière placés du côté où l'on voit le buste, pourroient faire croire que le Romain qu'il représente, ne cherchoit point à paroître, soit par modestie ou par quelque autre raison que j'ignore, puis qu'en effet son portrait étoit placé, selon cet arrangement, sur la partie la moins apparente de cette Acerra.

Je finis cet article, en assurant que j'ai peu vu d'ouvrage Romain de ce mouvement, de ce goût, de cette exécution.

The Thuribulum in the possession of Mr. Hollis seems to have been the same ; though it is now entire and perfect ; the same bust of a Roman is in the front as well as in the back, so that the observation of the Count of its being placed there on account of modesty does not hold ; the top, having then no cover, he mistook for the bottom, though the places for the hinges might have discovered it was the top part.

The cover also is replaced, and is ornamented in the same stile. A Medusa's head in the center, but different from that at the ends, surrounded with a wreath of Laurel tied with ribbands, which are supported on each side by two winged Cupids, differently attired ; their quivers on the ground near them, and the whole compartment is ornamented with a Vitruvian border.

The engraving gives the notion of spirit and the general form, but no idea of the elegance and excellency of the workmanship. It is of Bronze, eight inches long, and near three high.

F I N I S.



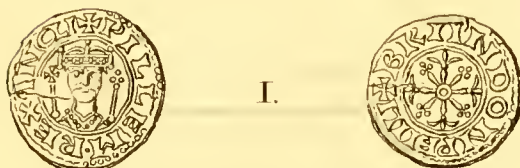




II.

WILLIAM REX ANGLIE.  
BRAND ON PENNY.

A PENNY OF WILLIAM RUFUS.



I.

WILLIAM REX ANGLIE  
BRAND ON PENNY

A PENNY OF WILLIAM I.

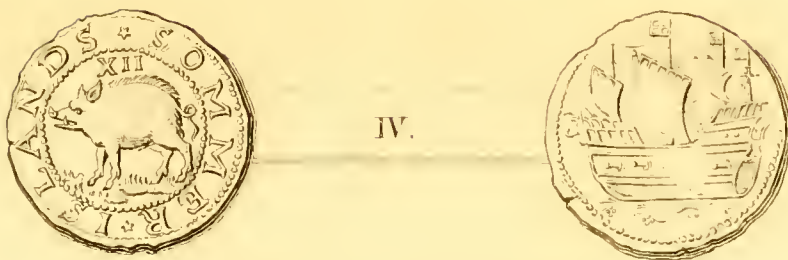


III.

HENRI REX.

RUNCEB H  
ON LOND.

A PENNY OF HENRY I.



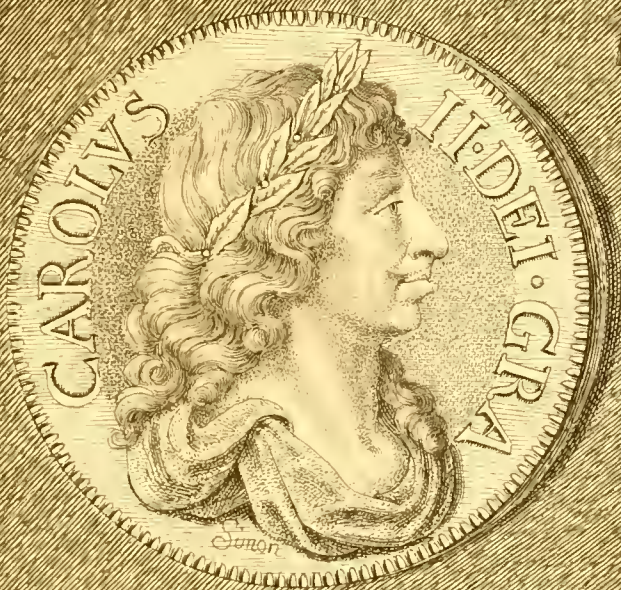
IV.

A COIN OF THE SOMMER ISLANDS.

IN THE COLLECTION OF THE LATE THOMAS HOLLIS OF LINCOLNS INNE F.R. AND A.S.S.



*The Crown, or Trial-piece of Thomas Simon, magnified from that  
now in the possession of Thomas Holles Esq. F.R. & A.S.S.  
Round the edge is the underwritten petition.*



*Thomas Simon most humbly prays your Majesty to compare this his Trial-  
Piece with the Dutch, and if more truly drawn and embos'd, more gracefully  
order it, and more accurately engraven, to relieve him.*



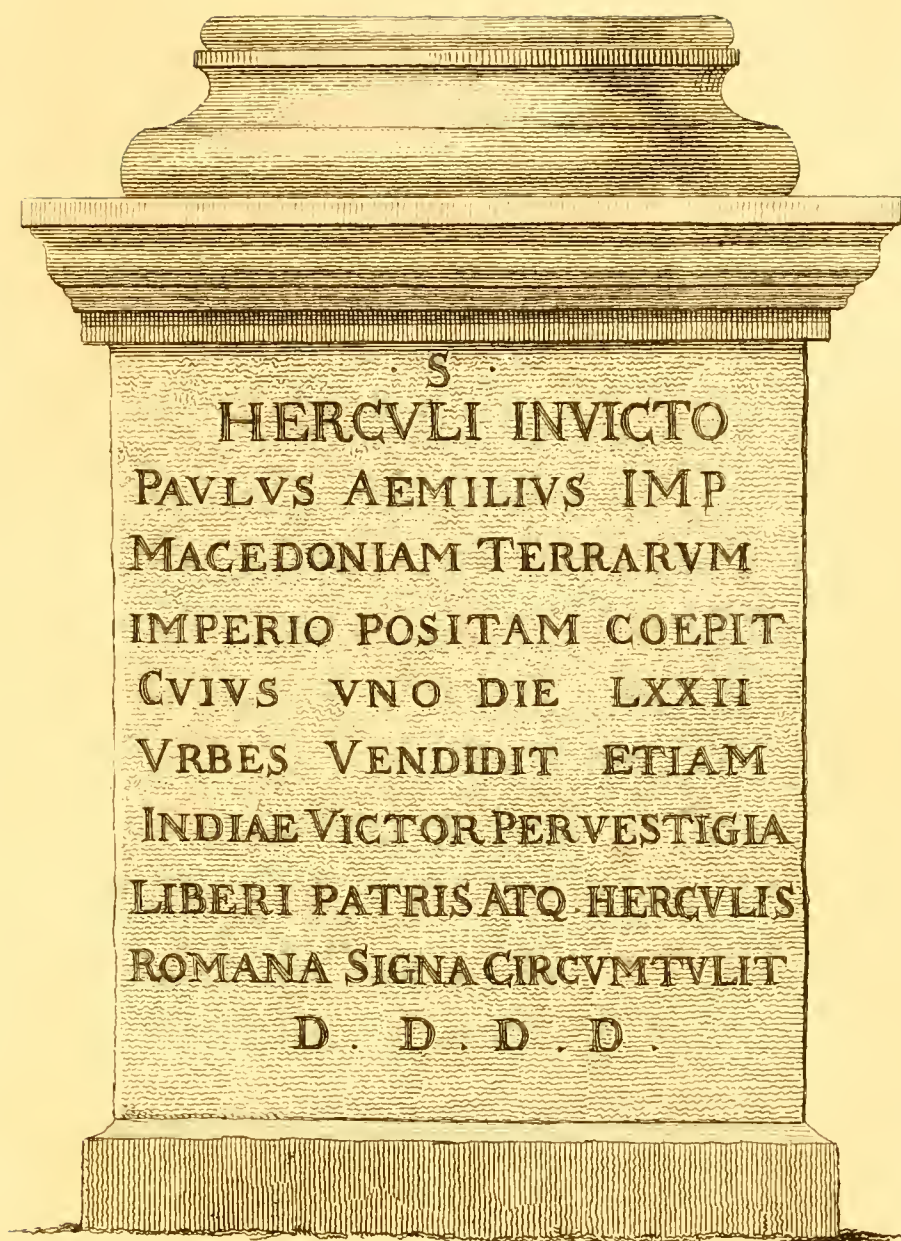




*Siculus* *Roma* *del. et sculp. S. J.*





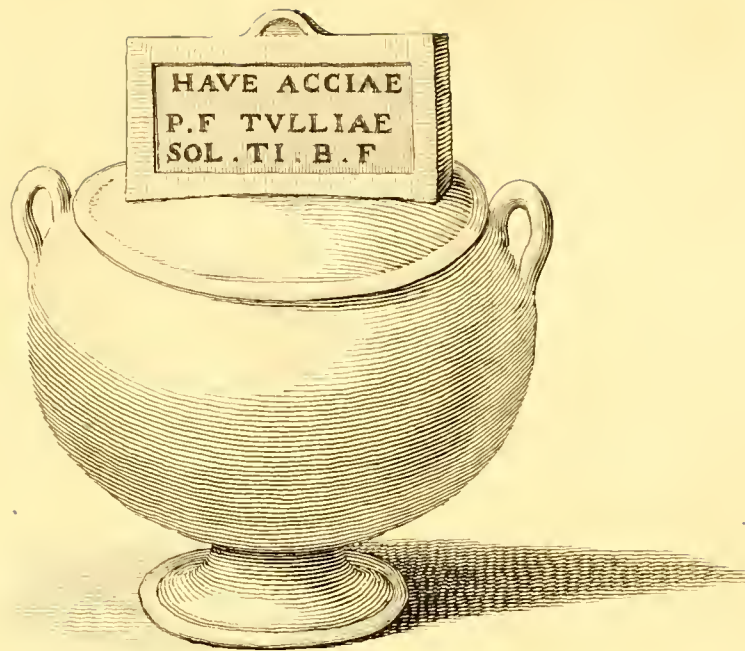


A.B. DEL.

J.BASIRE, SC.

IN THE COLLECTION OF THE LATE THOMAS HOLLIS OF LINCOLNS INNE F.R. AND A.S.S.

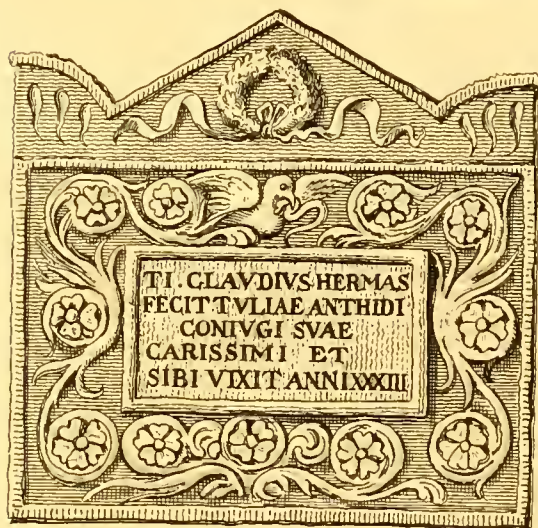
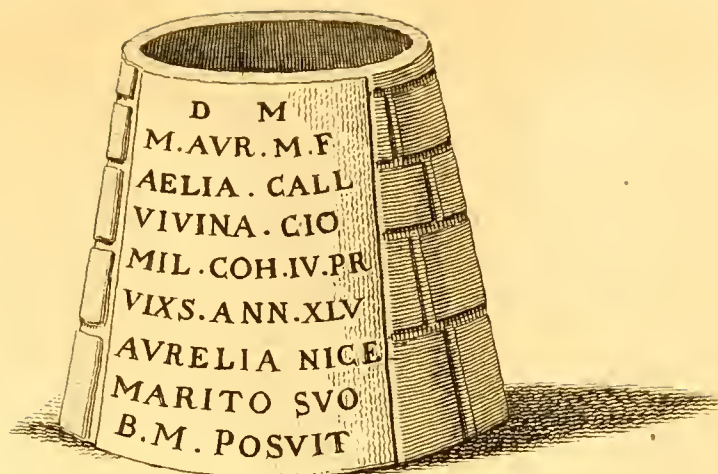




IN THE COLLECTION OF THE LATE THOMAS HOLLIS OF LINCOLNS INNE F.R.AND A.S.S.



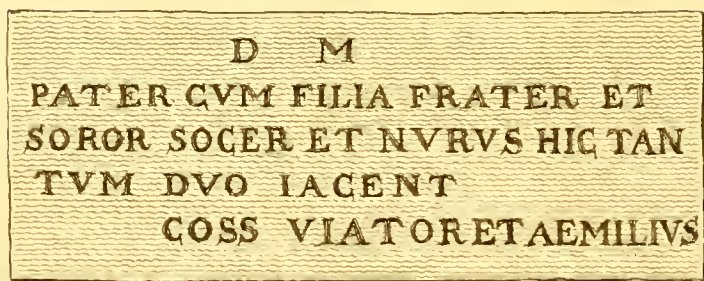




IN THE COLLECTION OF THE LATE THOMAS HOLLIS OF LINCOLNS INNE F.R. AND A.S.S.







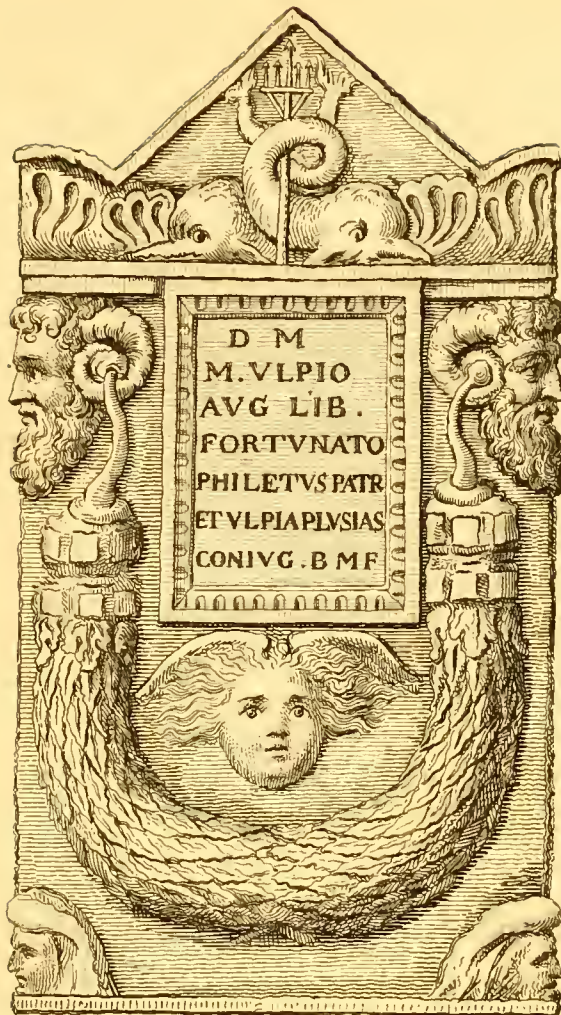
A. B. DEL.

HASIRE J.



IN THE COLLECTION OF THE LATE THOMAS HOLLIS OF LINCOLNS INNE F.R. AND A.S.S.





A. B. DEL.

J. BASIRE, S.

IN THE COLLECTION OF THE LATE THOMAS HOLLIS OF LINCOLN'S INNE F.R. AND A.S.S.







D. M.  
 C. MENIANO BATYLLO ET  
 C. MENIANO ANTHIMO  
 MENANIO ○ MARTINA  
 BENE. MERE NTIBVS CON  
 IVGIBVS. SVIS FECIT

B. EL.

J. BASIRE, SC.

IN THE COLLECTION OF THE LATE THOMAS HOLLIS, ESQ.<sup>R</sup>





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PHTHIA



TOLE EX CARBONYCH · ANAGLY EXSCALP.



THE COLLECTION OF THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR AND ASS







CLEOPATRA ANIMAM EFFLANS.

DE CERE O EXEMPLARI EIVSDEM MAGNITVDINIS AVCTORE  
 BENVENUTO *CELLINI* PENES THOMAM *HOLLIS* HOSPITI LINCOL-  
 NIENSIS R. ET A. SS. S. IOHANNES BAPTISTA *CHIRIANI* FLORENTINVS  
 DELINEAVIT ET AQVAE FORTIS OPE INSCVLPSIT











TESTAMENTO DI ENDAMIDA DI CORINTO.

LANCIO AD ARETÈO MIA MADRE, PERCHÉ LA NVTRISCA; A CARISSENO LA MIA

FIGLIUOLA, PERCHÉ LE DIA MARITO, E LA DOTI GIUSTA IL SUO POTERE.

F. BARTOLOZZI FIORENTINO, INSEGNÒ E SCOLPI IN LONDRA L'ANNO MDCCCLXV DELLA GRANDEZZA

DEL QUADRO DI N. PYSSINO DIPINTO A OILIO IN CARTA, NELLA COLLEZIONE DI TOMMASO HOLLI, INGLESE.







## A D D E N D A.

Page 70, The Britannia, being the reverse of a medal of Claudius, was designed by Moerikoffer.

Page 503, add, A free sketch of a Britannia Victrix, etched after a cameo, 1770, graven upon a gem of five colors; which is in the possession of Thomas Hollis of Lincoln's Inn, F.R. & A.S.S. On the reverse, is engraved an intaglia of the head of Algernon Sydney, after the picture of him which is at Penshurst, with this inscription round it:

“GUILTY! DO YOU CALL THAT GUILT?”

The inscription on marble to Herculi invicto, was purchased by Thomas Hollis, Esq. at Rome, 1754, for 15 sequins.

The print of Cleopatra animam efflans, is from a performance in wax by Cellini, most delicate, beautiful, and expressive; and though executed with spirit and exactness, an etching cannot give a perfect idea of such a work.

P. 784. Thomas Edwards, Esq. of Lincoln's-Inn, was author of the sonnet to John Hampden, and wrote the Canons of Criticism.

The plates of coins are of those which have not been published.

The engraving by Bartolozzi of Eudamidas making his will, is taken from a picture of N. Poussin, who united in himself the scholar, gentleman, and painter; and accordingly his works excel in knowledge, propriety, and elegance. This subject, taken from Lucian's Toxaris, is worthy of him, being a beautiful instance of virtuous friendship continuing through life, and ending gloriously for all the parties. The words of a friend are a law. Carixenes dying soon after of grief, Aretas executed the will in all its parts.—A will, which, Lucian says, would appear ridiculous to any but a friend. See the fine reflection of the Scythian.

Of modern times, Nicolo Barbarigo, and Marco Trivisano, noble Venetians, who lived in 1626, are illustrious examples of true friendship. Vide *La Immortalità degli amici eroi. et La vita del Padre Paolo*.

Page 822. *To be added to Natter's Works.*

The head of Britannia, Intaglia—large— on the Root of an Onyx.

An Owl on a Palm Branch, Intaglia, by deeds of peace. Chalcedon..

The head of T. B. Cameo, on an Onyx.

The head of T. H. Intaglia, on a Chalcedon.

Page 182, Vide Portrait of Natter, app. 586.

## C O R R I G E N D A.

P. 36. line 15. read *stricken* for *struck*.

P. 46. Inscription, lege

*Et Gratam scalpfit docta pedana Chelyn.*

## Directions to the Bookbinder for placing the Prints.

### M E M O I R S.

O fair Britannia ! fronting the title page.	Hubertus Languet,	p. 135
The Dedication—and a guard.	Bulstrode Whitelocus,	199
Thomas Hollis, fronting page 1	Joannes Wallis	257
Colonel Edmund Ludlow,	John Locke,	258
Medal of Britannia,	Jonathan Mayhew,	371
The boy John Milton,	Milton Victorious,	383
Andrew Marvell,		97

### A P P E N D I X.

A guard after the title.	Elizabeth.
John Milton, fronting page 507	Henry IVth.
John Milton, from the Bust,	Silenus.
John Milton, from Crayons,	Herculi invicto,
Algernon Sydney,	Have acciae.
Francis Hutcheson,	M. A V R.
Edward VI. coronation medal,	Pompeiae.
Sir Isaac Newton,	VLPIO.
To put a guard at	Diis manibus.
Britannia Victrix,	Timoleon.
A Saxon Penny of Bertvulf,	Cleopatra.
Sommer Islands.	Eudamidas.
Petition Crown.	

\*.\* As the impressions are green, the books should not be bound of some time.

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PRINTER TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

MDCCLXXX.

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